

Budget deficit spikes to a record

Breaches \$3.1 trillion after dramatic surge in virus relief spending

BY JEFF STEIN AND ANDREW VAN DAM

The U.S. budget deficit eclipsed \$3.1 trillion in the fiscal year that ended Sept. 30, according to government data released Friday, by far the biggest one-year gap in U.S. history.

The data are a stark reflection of the staggering blow that the coronavirus pandemic has dealt to the U.S. economy.

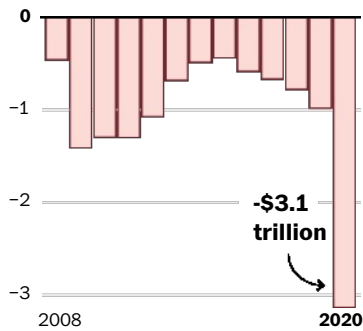
The deficit — the gap between government spending and tax revenue — shows the dramatic surge in spending the U.S. government approved to contain the pandemic's fallout earlier this year.

The deficit last year was about \$1 trillion, which represented an elevated level but pales in comparison with this year's tally. For 2020, the government spent \$6.552 trillion, up from \$4.447 trillion one year ago, according to the data released jointly by the White House and the Treasury Department. The

SEE DEFICIT ON A16

U.S. federal deficit

In trillions of dollars per fiscal year



Sources: Treasury Department; Office of Management and Budget
THE WASHINGTON POST



PHOTOS BY DANIELA RIVERA ANTARA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Luis Alberto Soayne checks on his children as they prepare for a day of remote learning at home in Lima, Peru. Soayne, who lost his job in the pandemic, worries his 14-year-old son, Missael, will drop out if schools do not reopen next year.

A pandemic-era learning curve

In Peru and around world, remote education is deepening divide between rich and poor



Paola López, a Lima-based technology executive, is able to work from home. Here her 8-year-old daughter, Fabiana Bustamante, runs in to ask for help with her homework.

BY LUCIEN O. CHAUVIN AND ANTHONY FAIOLA

LIMA, PERU — Hunched over a rickety table in his family's three-room shanty, Missael Soayne wrote diligently on a sheet of graph paper. It was Friday morning, time for reading comprehension. His father, out of work, had warned him not to waste paper, so the baby-faced 14-year-old carefully drew small, tight letters on the page.

Peru, the nation with the world's highest coronavirus mortality rate, is also one of dozens of countries where schools remain closed nationwide because of the pandemic, with no reopening date in sight. The quarantine here is particularly severe; children 14 and under are permitted out of their homes only one hour per day.

SEE EDUCATION ON A11

Justices take up census dispute

APPORTIONMENT OF HOUSE IS AT STAKE

Trump: Undocumented shouldn't be included

BY ROBERT BARNES

The Supreme Court announced Friday that it will review President Trump's attempt to exclude undocumented immigrants when calculating how congressional seats are apportioned among the states.

The unprecedented proposal could have the effect of shifting both political power and billions of dollars in federal funds away from urban states with large immigrant populations and toward rural and more Republican interests.

A three-judge panel in New York said Trump's July 21 memorandum on the matter was "an unlawful exercise of the authority granted to" him by Congress. It blocked the Commerce Department and the Census Bureau from including information about the number of undocumented immigrants — it is unclear how those numbers would be generated — in their reports to the president after this year's census is completed.

The justices put the case on a fast track and said they will hold a hearing Nov. 30. By then, it probably will be a nine-member court again, if Judge Amy Coney Barrett is confirmed, giving the court a 6-to-3 conservative majority. The administration says timing matters, because it must present the plan to Congress in January.

It is unclear whether the matter would divide the court along ideological lines, but the issue is another mark of how the once-

SEE CENSUS ON A4

Mexican was cartel asset as defense chief, U.S. alleges

BY MARY BETH SHERIDAN, MARISSA J. LANG AND SHAYNA JACOBS

MEXICO CITY — Mexico's former defense minister had a secret life in which he used the army to help a cartel send heroin, cocaine and other drugs to the United States, according to U.S. court documents released Friday.

Some called him the Godfather. Retired Gen. Salvador Cienfuegos, 72, was detained Thursday at Los Angeles International Airport. Prosecutors in New York unsealed a four-count indictment Friday charging him with drug and money-laundering crimes. He appeared in a federal court in Los Angeles via video later Friday, but a hearing on his detention was delayed until Tuesday. His attorney

SEE MEXICO ON A10

Few answers for virus 'long-haulers'

BY LENNY BERNSTEIN

NEW HAVEN, CONN. — Covid-19 took its best shot at Edison Chiluisa in May, sending him to intensive care, but the disease is still not done with him. For the past four months, long after his release from the hospital, Chiluisa has been racked by lingering ailments: Paralyzing fatigue. Shortness of breath. A stutter he never had before.

"The disease, it wears on you — body, mind and spirit," Chiluisa, a 51-year-old hospital worker, said recently. "You can be fine all day, and then all of a sudden your body just shuts down. No explanation. No reason. It just shuts down."

But unlike some "long-haulers" in the early part of the pandemic who struggled to persuade anyone that symptoms of covid-19 could last for months, Chiluisa is being attended by a team of specialists.

He sees a pulmonologist, a cardiologist, a neurologist, a respiratory therapist and a physical therapist, and soon he will see a social



STAN GODLEWSKI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Edison Chiluisa is struggling months after his bout with covid-19. Doctors at Yale New Haven Hospital are trying to figure out why.

worker — a first step toward getting help for the toll the coronavirus has inflicted on his psyche.

Even as they continue to face the day-to-day medical demands of the pandemic, caregivers such as Chiluisa's are adjusting to the

reality that, for many thousands of people, the long-term consequences of covid-19 may have to be managed for months, and possibly much longer.

Long-haulers "are in every

SEE VIRUS ON A8

ELECTION 2020

Trump, Biden wrestle for masculinity's mantle

BY MATT VISER

President Trump boasted last week that he beat covid-19 because he is "a perfect physical specimen." Sen. Kelly Loeffler (R-Ga.) distributed a video of Trump at WrestleMania, tackling and beating up a man with a coronavirus particle superimposed over his head.

"President Trump won't have to recover from COVID," Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) wrote on Twitter. "COVID will have to recover from President Trump."

The president's emergence from his bout with the novel coronavirus is being hailed by many allies as a sign of his physical strength — the latest chapter in the effort by Trump and his supporters to cast himself as the manliest of men, conflating masculinity and strength and engaging in a dispute of sorts with Joe

Biden over the meaning of machismo.

"Now, what is this macho thing: 'I'm not going to wear a mask?'" Biden said during a town hall meeting last week, held just after Trump was released from the hospital. "Big deal. Does it hurt you? Be patriotic, for God's sake. Take care of yourself, but take care of your neighbors."

In response to Biden encouraging Americans to wear a mask, Fox News commentator Tomi Lahren wrote on Twitter: "Might as well carry a purse with that mask, Joe."

The back-and-forth between Trump and Biden has long resembled a testosterone-filled, mano-a-mano bluster between the high school jocks they used to be. They

SEE CAMPAIGN ON A5

White House Debrief: Trump loath to condemn extremist backers. **A7**

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Remote luxury Tired of working from home? Try a hotel. Properties are pitching day-use rates to remote workers, with distracting perks included. **Travel, E15**



CELESTE SLOMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

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IN CASE YOU MISSED IT

Some reports that you may have missed. Read more at [washingtonpost.com](https://www.washingtonpost.com).

7 nations join U.S. in space-behavior pact

NASA announced Tuesday that seven nations have joined the United States in signing the Artemis Accords, a series of bilateral agreements that would establish rules for the peaceful use of space and govern behavior on the surface of the moon. The rules would allow private companies to extract lunar resources.

[washingtonpost.com/national](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national)

Website issues snag Va. voter registration

An accidentally severed fiber-optic cable in Virginia effectively shut down most of the state's online voter registration on its last day Tuesday, prompting voter advocates to file a lawsuit in seeking an extension of the deadline that thousands of voters missed because of the disruption. A judge extended the deadline by two days.

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CORRECTIONS

- In some Oct. 16 editions, an A-section article about Europe setting a record by overtaking the United States in new coronavirus cases per capita misstated the continent's daily death toll from the disease. It is 1,000 deaths a day, not 8,000.
- An Oct. 16 Metro article about a debate between the candidates in Virginia's 10th Congressional District misidentified Republican hopeful Aliscia Andrews as a cybersecurity manager. She works in cybersecurity policy and strategy.
- A Local Digest item in the Oct. 16 Metro section, about the deadly crash of a Jeep Grand Cherokee and a tow truck in Fairfax County, incorrectly said that victim Jonathan Szott of Herndon was driving the tow truck. He was driving the Jeep Cherokee.
- A Oct. 16 Weekend article about D.C.-area music venues reopening after closing for the coronavirus pandemic misstated the first name of the blues and roots singer who has sold out two upcoming shows at the Birchmere. She is Samantha Fish, not Amanda Fish.
- The Courtland Milloy column in the Oct. 14 Metro section, about mail-in and drop-box voting, incorrectly said that there were about 270 drop boxes in Prince George's County. There about 270 boxes in Maryland and 42 in Prince George's County.

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Judge demands to know who speaks for Trump

Seeks clarity after Justice Dept. discounts directive tweeted by president

BY SPENCER S. HSU

A federal judge rebuked the Justice Department and the White House Counsel's Office on Friday for dismissing without explanation President Trump's "emphatic and unambiguous" tweets ordering the declassification of all documents in the government's probe of Russia's interference in the 2016 U.S. election.

"I have fully authorized the total Declassification of any & all documents pertaining to the single greatest political CRIME in American History, the Russia Hoax," the president tweeted Oct. 6. "Likewise, the Hillary Clinton Email Scandal. No redactions!"

Trump's blanket statement came the day after he returned to the White House from three days of treatment for the novel corona-

virus at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center in Bethesda. The tweet has since created a headache for government lawyers in pending open-records lawsuits filed by news organizations seeking fuller disclosure of special counsel Robert S. Mueller III's report and investigative materials.

Associate Deputy Attorney General Bradley Weinsheimer maintained in a court filing Tuesday that the White House Counsel's Office informed the Justice Department that notwithstanding the president's statement, "there is no order requiring wholesale declassification or disclosure of documents at issue."

At Friday's hearing, however, Judge Reggie B. Walton of the U.S. District Court in D.C. expressed bafflement at the claim that President Trump's words were not to be believed.

"I think the American public has a right to rely on what the president says his intention is," Walton said.

"It seems to me when a president makes a clear, unambiguous

statement of what his intention is, that I can't rely on the White House Counsel's Office saying, 'Well, that was not his intent,'" the judge said in a hearing conducted virtually because of the pandemic.

Walton directed the department by noon Tuesday to clarify with Trump or "an individual who has conferred directly with the president" whether Trump had intended to order the declassification and release of Mueller report materials without redaction. The judge cited the urgency of releasing as much information as possible in the remaining days before the election.

"I think I need something more emphatic that this is, in fact, the president's position, and not just the White House counsel's position," Walton said. "If we're going to get this information out before the election, we need to get to this next week."

The ruling came in a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit filed by BuzzFeed, CNN and the Electronic Privacy Information Center in their effort to obtain Mueller-probe documents.

Arguing for BuzzFeed and the journalist Jason Leopold, attorney Matthew Topic told the court, "We wholeheartedly agree."

Justice Department trial lawyer Courtney Enlow argued unsuccessfully that Walton should not assume the White House Counsel's Office was not acting on behalf of the president, invoking the "presumption of regularity" — the deference courts usually give to agencies carrying out their duties.

The hearing was not the first time that Walton — a veteran jurist who was nominated to the U.S. District Court in Washington in 2001 by President George W. Bush and is a former presiding judge of the U.S. Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court — has sharply criticized the Trump administration's credibility in its handling of the Mueller investigation.

Walton in the same case this March lambasted Attorney General William P. Barr for a "lack of candor" for providing what the judge called "distorted" and "misleading" public statements sum-

marizing Mueller's work that were later contradicted by the public release of the partially redacted special counsel's report.

It is highly unusual for a federal judge to publicly question whether the White House Counsel's Office speaks for the president — or for that matter to challenge the honesty of the attorney general — but tweets by Trump have repeatedly conflicted with the Justice Department's messaging.

Barr in February complained in an interview that Trump's tweets about prosecutors and open cases related to Mueller's investigation "make it impossible for me to do my job" by creating a perception of political interference.

In other cases when parties sued for the release of documents that would confirm whether Trump's claims were true, the Justice Department has successfully argued to judges that the president's statements attacking federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies were to be taken as political rhetoric, speculation or otherwise not always literally.

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KYLE GRILLOT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Firefighters work to protect homes in September from the El Dorado Fire burning areas of San Bernardino National Forest in Mountain Home Village, Calif.

Trump administration rejects, then approves, Calif. fire aid

BY SCOTT WILSON
AND TIM ELFRINK

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF. — Fueled by extreme heat and dry, windy conditions, wildfires ravaged California in September, blazing through almost 1.9 million acres, destroying nearly 1,000 homes and killing at least three people. One wildfire, the Creek Fire, became the largest single inferno in California history and grew so fierce that it spun up fire tornadoes with 125-mph winds.

On Friday, the request for federal assistance to help pay for the recovery from a half-dozen of those fires spun up a tornado of its own. Like the proverbial tempest, the storm over the money had been contained in a teapot by the day's end.

The day began with news that the Trump administration had refused to grant California an emergency declaration that would make hundreds of millions of dollars in federal funding available for areas devastated by the Creek Fire and five others. Federal officials said the most recent application did not meet the criteria for federal relief.

But President Trump reversed the decision a few hours later after a direct appeal from Gov. Gavin Newsom (D) in a midday phone call. The declaration was approved, the hand-wringing over.

"Just got off the phone with President Trump who has approved our Major Disaster Decla-

ration request," Newsom said in a statement Friday afternoon. "Grateful for his quick response."

The whiplash over the federal emergency funds — which Trump has previously threatened to withhold but never has — came in the final weeks of a presidential campaign during which the president has often held California up as a prime example of liberal irresponsibility. Trump lost the nation's most populous state — where Republican voter registration has dropped below the number of those who have not declared a party — by 30 percentage points in the 2016 election.

Newsom, who took office in January 2019, has personally kept his criticism of the Trump administration on a lower key than many of the state's other top Democrats. His decision to do so has been largely pragmatic, in the hope that in just such moments as these Trump would approve federal assistance to aid the state's recovery from a monumental disaster.

The governor followed that same tack Friday morning, tweeting only "We are appealing this" after the decision to withhold the assistance. A decision on such an appeal — essentially a request for the president to reconsider his denial — typically would have come after the Nov. 3 election. In this case, it came within hours.

Trump has approved California's disaster relief requests in the past, albeit sometimes with some public grumbling.

The president is counting on

excitement and a strong turnout from his conservative base to secure a second term, and California's stance on climate change, immigration, race and other issues has made the state a frequent political target for Trump and his supporters. California has sued the administration 100 times.

Earlier this week, Trump tweeted a typical attack on the Golden State: "People are fleeing California. Taxes too high, Crime too high, Brownouts too many, Lockdowns too severe. VOTE FOR TRUMP, WHAT THE HELL DO YOU HAVE TO LOSE!!!"

White House spokesman Judd Deere said in a statement about the rejection of the Creek Fire emergency declaration that the president this summer approved wildfire relief for California that was supported by damage estimates and this week made additional disaster assistance available to the state by authorizing federal funding for debris removal and emergency protective measures taken as a result of the wildfires since Aug. 14.

"The more recent and separate California submission was not supported by the relevant data that states must provide for approval, and the president concurred with the FEMA Administrator's recommendation," Deere said, referring to the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

Newsom sent a request for emergency funding to Trump on Sept. 28 in a letter that outlined the extraordinary scope of the

wildfires and thanked the president for visiting the state to tour the damage.

As Newsom noted, the fires ignited in early September in a state already ravaged by a historic wildfire season that in total has scorched more than 4.1 million acres and killed 31 people. As high winds whipped through areas gripped by drought and a heat wave, small fires quickly burst into new disasters, the dry brush and brittle trees acting as tinder.

The largest, the Creek Fire, started Sept. 4 in Madera and Fresno counties in central California. It was 58 percent contained, after burning through a record 340,000-plus acres as of early Friday. More than 24,000 people have had to flee its path, including hundreds of campers who had to be airlifted to safety in a military rescue.

The letter details five other fires that each ate up hundreds of thousands of acres and hundreds of buildings.

In one case, smaller fires that sparked up in several counties north of San Francisco merged to form what is known as the August Complex, which has now burned more than 1 million acres. It marks the first time in state history that figure has been exceeded.

Newsom did not specify how much federal aid the state needs, because the total damage is still being assessed. Initial estimates projected damages resulting from the Creek Fire alone at \$200 million.

California is facing a budget deficit running into the tens of billions of dollars amid the coronavirus-caused economic shutdown, and the state is counting on federal money in a number of ways to close that hole.

"Californians are exhausted," Newsom wrote in the letter. "Many of the counties impacted by these wildfires are still recovering from previous devastating wildfires, storms and the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic."

One focus of Trump's criticism of California over the years has been its approach to wildfire preparedness.

Last November, Trump accused Newsom of doing a "terrible job" of managing forests, tweeting, "Every year, as the fire's rage & California burns, it is the same thing-and then he comes to the Federal Government for \$\$\$ help. No more."

Most scientists, though, say a warming climate is the most significant factor driving the bigger wildfires. About 60 percent of California's forests are managed by the federal government.

As the debate over federal assistance unfolded, about 30,000 residents of the Bay Area were without power after the publicly traded utility Pacific Gas and Electric intentionally shut off the electricity to reduce wildfire risks. More than 20 fires were burning across the state.

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Elfrink reported from Washington.

State Dept. shares little on payments to Trump properties

Agency releases 2 pages of the hundreds sought in open-records requests

BY DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD, JONATHAN O'CONNELL AND JOSHUA PARTLOW

The State Department says it has about 450 pages of records showing government spending at President Trump's properties. But this week, it signaled that it plans to release only two of those pages before the November election — leaving voters in the dark about the full scope of taxpayer payments to the president's company.

The State Department announced the decision to release just the two pages late Thursday in an email to The Post, which had filed a public-records lawsuit earlier this year, seeking any records showing State Department payments to Trump properties.

The State Department pays for hotel rooms and other expenses when foreign leaders visit Trump properties, and when federal employees, such as Secret Service agents, follow Trump and his family to the president's overseas clubs. But it's impossible to tell how much the department has spent in total, because it has released detailed records for only the first few months of Trump's presidency.

The Post's lawsuit asked for a fuller accounting, requesting records of those payments over several years of Trump's term.

In response, the State Department had said in a legal filing it would try to release up to 300 pages of the remaining records on Thursday. Instead, it sent the two pages — the receipts of a single hotel bill from Trump's Irish golf course, involving security for Trump's daughter-in-law and campaign adviser Lara Trump.

The department declined to comment about its decision. The White House also declined to comment. Under the schedule previously set in court filings, the State Department does not plan to release more records until mid-November.

Also this week, the General



GRIFF WITTE/THE WASHINGTON POST

The State Department pays for lodging when security agents follow President Trump and his family to his overseas clubs. The two pages the agency released Thursday show receipts for when agents accompanied Lara Trump to the Trump golf club in Doonbeg, Ireland.

Services Administration — responding to a Post public-records request about its own business relationship with Trump's company — released 26 pages of internal documents with only 10 words total. The rest was redacted.

These actions come after a year in which The Post has sought to answer a question: How much taxpayer money has been paid to President Trump's company since he took office?

The federal government has declined to answer. Instead, The Post has sought to compile its own accounting, using public records requests and a lawsuit to obtain one receipt at a time.

So far, The Post has found more

than \$1.2 million in taxpayer payments to Trump's company. But the data is still incomplete because some federal agencies have not yet provided years worth of their own spending data.

Under the Freedom of Information Act, federal agencies are supposed to respond to requests in 20 business days and deliver any relevant documents promptly thereafter. But in many cases, according to federal data, requests go unfulfilled for months or years.

In cases involving federal payments to Trump's businesses, those delays can defeat the purpose of the law — by keeping information about the president hidden until after voters have

chosen whether to reelect him, said Adam Marshall, an attorney at the nonprofit Reporters Committee for the Freedom of the Press.

“That is exactly what the law is designed to do: It's designed to get information into the hands of the public so they can have an informed debate and discussion” about policy issues or candidates, Marshall said.

This week, at last, the agencies were supposed to provide what they had not.

The Post had filed public-records requests with the State Department in February, asking for any disbursement records showing payments to Trump properties. The Post filed a law-

suit in June when the requests weren't answered. In response to the suit, the State Department had said it would produce its first batch of documents Thursday.

In a court filing in August, the department said it would “aspire to process potentially responsive records at a rate of 300 pages” for that first batch.

Instead, at 4:47 p.m. Thursday, it sent two.

They showed that in May 2019, Lara Trump visited the Trump Organization's Doonbeg golf club in Ireland. Her Secret Service detail followed, and — as often happened — the Trump Organization charged the government for their rooms. The total bill was \$8,316, but the rate charged per

room was redacted.

With their travels, Trump's adult children and their families have brought the Trump Organization more than \$245,000 in payments from the Secret Service, documents show. When they go to Trump properties, agents have to follow, and the Trump Organization charges the government for their rooms. On trips overseas, the State Department pays the bill, later seeking reimbursement from the Secret Service.

If the State Department sticks to the remaining schedule it laid out in August, the next batch of documents won't be released until Nov. 16, long after Election Day.

The General Services Administration has a different kind of business relationship with Trump: It's not his customer, it's his landlord. Trump's D.C. hotel is housed in a building his company leases from the federal government, under a deal set up long before he ran for office.

Previously, The Post had asked the GSA's press office for details about that relationship. Among the questions posed to the agency: Has Trump's company asked Trump's government to delay any rent payments, as the coronavirus pandemic decimates its business? Would the government allow Trump's company to sell the hotel to a foreign government?

The GSA's communications office did not respond to those requests. Then The Post filed a public-records request, asking for emails within the communications office, hoping to find out what had become of its requests.

That request also went unanswered, for 134 days.

Then, on Thursday, there was an answer — of a sort. The GSA provided 26 pages of what were, presumably, those emails. But the documents had been heavily redacted. Only scattered words appeared — signs that somebody had followed the bureaucratic rituals of transparency without providing any transparency at all.

The words were:

“Hi Pam,”

“Thanks Pam”

“Team - I got this.”

“Thanks Renee.”

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Abortion rights group calls for Feinstein to lose Judiciary Committee post

Senate Democrat draws ire for praising GOP after Barrett hearings

BY SEUNG MIN KIM

A top abortion rights group heavily involved in the efforts to stop Amy Coney Barrett's confirmation to the Supreme Court is calling for the ouster of Sen. Dianne Feinstein as the Judiciary Committee's top Democrat.

The statement from the head of NARAL Pro-Choice America further fueled a liberal backlash against Feinstein (D-Calif.), who during the Trump presidency has been a target of critics who say she has been far too passive in battling the administration, especially when it comes to its judicial nominees.

Liberal activists were irate about Feinstein's praise of Republicans — particularly the committee chairman, Sen. Lindsey O. Graham (S.C.) — for how they had conducted Barrett's confirmation hearings, which concluded Thursday. Barrett is expected to be confirmed later this month.

“Amy Barrett and this power grab pose a grave threat to every freedom and right we hold dear and tears the very fabric of our democracy,” said NARAL's president, Ilyse Hogue. “Americans — whose lives hang in the balance — deserve leadership that underscores how unprecedented, shameful and wrong this process is.”

Feinstein, Hogue said, “failed to make this clear and in fact offered an appearance of credibility to the proceedings that is wildly out of step with the American people. As such, we believe

the committee needs new leadership.”

The statement was all the more remarkable because Feinstein has been a longtime advocate of abortion rights. That has been recognized by NARAL — every year since 2016, Feinstein had received a 100 percent on the abortion rights group's congressional scorecard, meaning she sided with NARAL on its legislative priorities when it comes to reproductive rights.

Feinstein, 87 and the oldest member of the Senate, would be in line to become chairwoman if Democrats win majority control in the election.

Aides to Feinstein did not immediately return a request for comment Friday, but upon similar criticism Thursday from the left, aides pointed to a statement from the senator saying Democrats achieved their primary goal — to showcase the threat that

they say Barrett poses to the future of the Affordable Care Act and access to abortion.

“The Senate is structured so the majority had absolute control over this process,” Feinstein said. “When Republicans signaled they'd move ahead in the face of all objections, the only thing we could do was show this nominee would radically alter the court, and we accomplished that.”

Yet the anti-Feinstein noise from the left is getting increasingly difficult for Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) to ignore, and it is unclear precisely how he plans to navigate the issue, considering committee leadership operates primarily on seniority.

Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), who served as the Judiciary Committee chairman for years, has seniority over Feinstein and could conceivably reclaim his

position. But he has shown no signs of wanting to leave his perch atop the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee.

Sen. Richard J. Durbin (D-Ill.) is next in line after Feinstein, but it is unclear whether he can hold a committee chairmanship while simultaneously being the Senate Democratic whip, which is the No. 2 position in the caucus and comes with its own security detail. After Durbin is Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-R.I.), an aggressive senator and favorite of liberals who has been a vocal critic of the conservative judicial apparatus, including the Federalist Society, that has served as a pipeline for Trump's picks to the bench.

At the conclusion of the hearing, Feinstein thanked Graham for how he led the proceedings, and the two senators hugged — both maskless despite concerns about the coronavirus pandemic.

“This has been one of the best Senate hearings I have participated in,” Feinstein told Graham in an exchange gleefully promoted by Senate Republicans. “Thank you for your fairness and opportunity of going back and forth. It leaves one with a lot of hopes.”

Within hours, Demand Justice — a liberal advocacy group focused on the judiciary that is led by a former top Schumer aide — called on Feinstein to step aside as the top Democrat on the committee.

“She has undercut Democrats' position at every step of this process, from undermining calls for filibuster and court reform straight through to thanking Republicans for the most egregious partisan power grab in the modern history of the Supreme Court,” said Brian Fallon, the group's executive director.

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Justices to review plan to exclude undocumented from House apportionment

CENSUS FROM A1

a-decade census has been transformed from a largely bureaucratic exercise into the centerpiece of a partisan battle.

The Supreme Court earlier this week agreed with the Trump administration that it could stop the count of Americans, despite fears that the novel coronavirus and other problems will lead to an undercount of minorities and those in hard-to-reach communities. Lower courts had said the count should continue until the end of the month. But that might have made it hard to get the information to Trump by year's end — a timetable that carries additional importance in an election year.

In 2019, the justices rejected the Trump administration's plan to add a citizenship question to the census form, which experts said would discourage participation by both legal and undocumented immigrants. Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. wrote the 5-to-4 decision, saying the admin-

istration did not follow proper procedure for introducing the question, and that its rationale was “contrived.”

“President Trump has repeatedly tried — and failed — to weaponize the census for his attacks on immigrant communities,” said Dale Ho, director of the ACLU's Voting Rights Project, which is a party to the litigation. “The Supreme Court rejected his attempt last year and should do so again. The legal mandate is clear — every single person counts in the census, and every single person is represented in Congress.”

The latest controversy involves the constitutional mandate that apportionment of seats in the House of Representatives be based on the “whole number of persons in each State.” That has been interpreted to mean every resident, regardless of immigration status.

But this summer, Trump issued a memorandum that said, for the first time, “it is the policy of the United States to exclude from the apportionment base aliens who

are not in a lawful immigration status.”

Trump's memorandum indicated he believed that some states would be getting more congressional seats than deserved — California was implied but not named — because of their numbers of undocumented residents.

Trump directed Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross to provide him with two sets of numbers, one that includes unauthorized immigrants and one that does not, “to the maximum extent feasible and consistent with the discretion delegated to the executive branch.”

Even the administration does not indicate how that would be accomplished, as the census does not ask about citizenship. “The Census Bureau is still evaluating the extent to which, as a practical matter, administrative records pertaining to immigration status can be used to identify and exclude illegal aliens from the apportionment population count,” acting solicitor general Jeffrey B. Wall said in a filing to the Su-

preme Court.

Still, Wall said, “there is ample historical and structural evidence supporting the president's policy determination that the standard does not apply to all aliens living within a jurisdiction without the sovereign's permission to settle there.”

A coalition of 22 states and the District of Columbia, 15 cities and counties and the United States Conference of Mayors immediately challenged the memorandum, as did a number of nongovernmental organizations represented by the ACLU.

“The memorandum implements a policy that breaks with more than two hundred years of history and violates the plain text and purpose of both the Census Act and the Constitution,” New York Attorney General Letitia James said in a brief filed with the Supreme Court.

The challengers said in their brief that California, Texas and New Jersey would be likely losers if the entire population is not used in the calculations. Every 10

years, Congress is reapportioned because of the census, and a state's delegation — and by extension its clout in the electoral college — is determined.

States draw their own congressional district lines, and the new districts would debut in the 2022 congressional elections.

A special three-judge panel of federal judges in New York — two nominated by President George W. Bush and one by President Barack Obama — agreed with the challengers. They said in a lengthy but unsigned opinion that the question is “not particularly close or complicated” based on federal law.

“In short,” the judges wrote, “the secretary is required to report a single set of figures to the president — namely, the tabulation of total population by states under the decennial census — and the president is then required to use those same figures to determine apportionment using the method of equal proportions.”

They added: “Legislative history and settled practice confirm

our conclusion that ‘persons in each state’ turns solely on residency, without regard for legal status.”

The Supreme Court is required to weigh in on decisions involving reapportionment, and it must either affirm or reverse the panel's action.

But the administration will argue that deciding the case now is premature. Wall said it is only “speculative” at this point whether the states or the groups will be harmed. “It is still uncertain to what extent it will be ‘feasible’ for the executive branch to exclude illegal aliens from the apportionment base,” Wall wrote.

He said challenges must wait. “After the secretary submits his report and any effects of the Memorandum on apportionment and funding have been determined, any injured parties may seek review, consistent with this court's normal approach,” he wrote.

The case is *Trump v. State of New York*.

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✦ ELECTION 2020

Trump seeks policy turnaround in rebranding as a ‘great environmentalist’

A year in the making, effort accelerates in campaign’s final stretch

BY DINO GRANDONI

President Trump is attempting one of the biggest branding overhauls of his career in the waning weeks of the 2020 campaign — trying to run as an environmentalist after spending four years aggressively pushing for expanding the use of oil, gas and coal.

Trump, always the self-promoter-in-chief, is seeking to paint himself as the most environmentally friendly president since Teddy Roosevelt in an effort to endear himself to voters in several crucial swing states — even after his administration has sought to roll back dozens of anti-pollution regulations.

“Who would have thought Trump is the great environmentalist?” the president told a crowd in Florida last month when announcing, in an about-face, that he would ban oil drilling off of southern Atlantic states and in the eastern Gulf of Mexico. “And I am. I am. I believe strongly in it.”

The announcement, which reversed an early Trump administration effort to open nearly all federal waters to oil and gas drilling, is one of the biggest policy turnarounds of his presidency.

But Trump’s effort to green up his record is more than a year in the making, only accelerating in the final stretch of the race against Democratic nominee Joe Biden. The moves are meant to parry attacks from Biden, who is ahead in the polls, on Trump’s environmental record as concern

about climate change grows among voters — especially young ones.

“Unlike Joe Biden, who is willing to sacrifice millions of U.S. energy jobs to appease the radical left, President Trump and his administration are promoting both energy independence and environmental health through innovation,” Trump campaign spokesperson Courtney Parella said.

Yet Trump’s critics, many of whom have spent the past four years saying he has one of the worst environmental records of any president in U.S. history, are highly suspicious of the pivot. And any last-minute moves, they say, are too little and too late to sway to his side many voters concerned with these issues.

“This is an administration that spent four years bragging about how much fossil fuels they can get into the global economy,” said Jerry Taylor, a former global warming skeptic who now advocates for federal climate action as head of the Niskanen Center.

“At the 11th hour, these gestures, after four loud years of that, are extremely unlikely to resonate,” he added.

But this hasn’t stopped Trump from trying. In addition to the offshore oil moratorium, Trump signed a law in August investing \$900 million a year into expanding everything from huge wildlife preserves to neighborhood baseball diamonds, while his Environmental Protection Agency backed funding for the restoration of the Great Lakes. Both moves are stark reversals of the administration’s previous positions.

And just this week, Trump created a new “subcabinet” to improve water quality and management and approved an executive order in support of a plan

backed by House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) to plant a trillion trees and suck carbon dioxide out of the air.

Trump and other Republicans are responding in part to a voting public that increasingly sees climate change as a crisis.

While Democrats and independents are more likely to think humans are warming the planet, a majority of Republicans — 60 percent — said they believe that as well, according to a poll conducted last year by The Washington Post and the Kaiser Family Foundation.

Yet years of undoing Obama-era efforts to curb greenhouse gas pollution from cars and coal-fired power plants have helped cement the anti-environment reputation of Trump’s party.

The Democratic Party holds an edge of 31 percentage points over the GOP when registered voters polled by Pew Research Center were asked which would be better at confronting climate change. That is the largest difference between the parties among a dozen issues included in the survey over the summer.

Despite his recent backpedaling on some environmental issues, however, Trump has been unable to maintain a steady message when it comes to the biggest one of them all — climate change.

During the first presidential debate on Sept. 29, he showed a fleeting willingness to acknowledge that humans are contributing to the problem “to an extent.” But two weeks earlier, he shrugged off any links between rising temperatures and natural disasters during a briefing with California officials as the state saw its worst wildfire season on record. “It will start getting cooler,” he said, “you just watch.”

The muddled message could make his actions even harder to

sell, especially as Biden consistently calls climate change an “existential threat” and is proposing to spend \$2 trillion over four years to reduce emissions and prepare for its effects.

“I don’t know why the president says certain things that he says” about climate change, said Rep. Bruce Westerman (R-Ark.), a graduate of Yale’s forestry school who is behind the GOP’s trillion trees plan.

Westerman suggested Trump’s moves are informed by his background as a businessman. “But I do believe he recognizes a good deal when he sees one. And I think when he sees good policy, like the Trillion Trees Act, and he sees market-based conservation ideas, I think those are things that he will embrace.”

But this has led to a piecemeal approach. For instance, while Trump’s executive order notes that one of the purposes of planting more trees is to “sequester atmospheric carbon,” it doesn’t directly mention the underlying problem such an action is meant to alleviate. “It’s wild that the executive order doesn’t use the term ‘climate change,’” said Kate Kelly, director of public lands at the Center for American Progress, a left-leaning think tank.

George David Banks, who served as a climate adviser in the Trump White House during his first year in office, said that Trump does not have deep ideological convictions on climate change and “doesn’t see the political benefit of pushing a climate change agenda with his base.” “It’s difficult for any Republican to break through politically in the minds of voters who place environment at the top,” Banks said.

When Trump has tried to turn over a green new leaf, it’s usually

on local — not global — issues. When announcing the offshore oil moratorium in Florida, Trump emphasized how the ban would protect “your beautiful Gulf and your beautiful ocean” from potential spills — not how it would forestall emissions from burning oil and gas.

Expanding offshore drilling proved to be unpopular among both Democrats and Republicans, worried about potential spills soiling tourism-dependent beaches. And the drop in oil prices during the coronavirus pandemic made offshore drilling less profitable.

And Trump’s August signing of a major environmental bill, the Great American Outdoors Act, that would fully fund the Land and Water Conservation Fund for the first time since the 1960s, appeared designed to help Republican senators.

The White House had earlier called for slashing money to that program, but Trump changed his tune at the behest of Sens. Cory Gardner (R-Colo.) and Steve Daines (R-Mont.), whose home states stand to gain from the funding. Both GOP lawmakers are in tough reelection races.

While not officially part of the Trump campaign, Environmental Protection Agency chief Andrew Wheeler went on a whirlwind nationwide tour this fall to issue grants and highlight efforts to restore the Great Lakes, with stops in Minnesota, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

His agency is weeks away from finalizing a new rule updating the way water companies test for lead contamination in drinking water, a policy meant to tackle pollution still plaguing Flint, Mich., and other Midwestern cities with large African American populations Trump is trying to court. “Everyone, regardless of

their Zip code, deserves to have safe drinking water,” Wheeler said in Michigan in September.

The move will be a major update to the nearly 30-year-old regime for testing for lead. Still, some say it will not be enough to stop another generation from being exposed to the dangerous neurotoxin linked to developmental problems in children.

“The EPA has waved its hands a lot and done very little,” said Ronnie Levin, an instructor at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health who worked as a scientist at the agency for 37 years.

Historically, it has been tough for Republicans to win on environmental issues. In 1988, George H.W. Bush flipped the script on Michael Dukakis, blaming the Massachusetts Democrat for pollution in Boston Harbor. Once in office, Bush signed into law a major update to the Clean Air Act to curb acid rain. Even with that record, it was hard for Bush to outflank a Democratic ticket in 1992 that included Al Gore, who as a senator from Tennessee was already known as an environmental champion.

But Susan McManus, a professor emerita of political science at the University of South Florida, said Trump may have better luck with his environmental pitch in the Sunshine State, which is crucial to his reelection chances.

Republicans are able to win on environmental issues in Florida, she said, because of the “extremely strong linkage” between the state’s ecology and economy. “Florida’s economy is totally contingent upon the coastal areas,” she said. “Whether it’s tourism, fishing — you name it.”

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Emily Guskin contributed to this report.



Despite Joe Biden’s image as a gentleman, he channels his swagger when his masculinity is questioned. “I’ve been in a lot of locker rooms my whole life,” Biden added. “I’m a pretty damn good athlete.”



President Trump “is a more caricatured version of masculinity — aggressive . . . never back down,” said Jackson Katz, creator of a forthcoming documentary about modern presidential masculinity.

CAMPAIGN FROM A1

evoke different brands of manliness — an old-fashioned machismo for Trump, a manly but caring boy-next-door for Biden.

Trump’s recent experience with the coronavirus has amplified that conflict, which in some ways is a fight over what strength means in a changing society. Physical strength is obviously not synonymous with maleness, but Trump often uses it as part of his broader self-portrait as a dominant masculine figure.

“Trump is a more caricatured version of masculinity — aggressive, physically tough, physically strong, never back down,” said Jackson Katz, creator of a forthcoming documentary called “The Man Card: Presidential Masculinity from Nixon to Trump.” “What Biden is offering is a more complex 21st-century version of masculinity. It’s compassion and empathy and care and a personal narrative of loss.”

Trump has embraced a stereotypically macho persona since long before his presidency. He joined forces with WWE, the professional wrestling organization. He posted images of himself as fictional prizefighter Rocky Balboa. For a time he co-owned the Miss Universe Organization, with its stereotypical notions of men judging women’s appearances.

In a 2016 primary debate, Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.) became involved in a back-and-forth with Trump about the size of their hands, and by extension the size of their genitalia, something Rubio later said he regretted.

“What we learned in 2016 is it’s all about those moments when Trump comes after you and how

In 2020 race, no country for old men

do you handle it,” said Alex Conant, who advised Rubio in that campaign. “He was just throwing out insults and mocking people. It turned out to be really effective. It worked for him. I don’t know that would work for another politician.”

In this campaign, Trump has gone directly at Biden’s physicality, accusing him with no evidence of taking performance-enhancing drugs and depicting him as frail and slow.

Like many messages associated with Trump, the chest-beating can be over the top. Republicans last month distributed a video of Trump issuing an expletive-laden warning to Iran that included images of a bear growling, Hulk Hogan ripping off his shirt, a nuclear bomb erupting, fireworks exploding, an eagle screaming and the phrase “BEAST MODE” flashing across the screen.

Biden has done nothing like such antics, let alone Trump’s bragging about grabbing women by their private parts.

One of Biden’s political calling cards is an expression of empathy with voters and, unlike Trump, he is not afraid to show vulnerability in public. He often tears up as he speaks of his son Beau, who died in 2015. He talks of his childhood stutter and how he worked to overcome it. He has spoken in the past of contemplating suicide after family tragedy. He refers to the grief he felt when his first wife and daughter died in a car crash.

But despite Biden’s self-brand-

ing as a more contemporary man, he can fall into an old-fashioned swagger.

Pressed last year to release his medical records to assuage concerns about his health, he first challenged the premise — “What the hell ‘concerns,’ man?” — and then challenged the reporter: “You wanna wrestle?”

When an 83-year-old Iowa farmer questioned his fitness during the Democratic primaries, Biden interjected: “Let’s do push-ups together here, man. Let’s run. Let’s do whatever you want to do.” He talked recently of how he would want to take Trump “behind a barn somewhere” if the two weren’t presidential contenders.

More strategically, the Biden campaign has run ads in Pennsylvania featuring a man with tattooed arms tossing a football with his son and talking about the importance of sports — and of his support for Biden. Other Biden ads have been compared to Ford F-150 truck commercials, with upbeat electric guitar and a gravel-voiced narrator.

It’s not clear how much traditional displays of masculinity still resonate with voters, as women take on increasingly prominent roles and old stereotypes fall by the wayside. From Congress to the Supreme Court, from business to sports, women occupy increasingly powerful positions that are challenging older images of leadership and power.

“The culture is changing and becoming in some ways more like

Biden,” Katz said. “But Trump still clearly has a large appeal to men who understand the more traditional appeal of aggression, physical strength, the willingness to authorize violence.”

Both Biden and Trump are targeting a swath of White working-class voters in the industrial Midwest, many of whom may have traditional social values. Biden allies think his blunt, relatable style allows him to connect with such voters; Trump’s supporters believe his aggressiveness showcases him as a powerful leader willing to bowl over anyone in his way.

Four years ago, gender dynamics attracted enormous attention in the presidential race, especially in the debates when Trump faced off against Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton. Those dynamics are not absent from this year’s contest, in part because Biden has chosen a woman, Sen. Kamala D. Harris (D-Calif.), as his running mate.

During the recent vice-presidential debate, Vice President Pence repeatedly spoke over Harris. “Mr. Vice President, I’m speaking,” Harris said several times, a phrase that within minutes was being sold on T-shirts by supporters.

Philippe Reines, who played Trump in Clinton’s 2016 debate practice, said he would stand close to Clinton and try to rattle her by saying things like, “Are you okay to keep going?” Trump did not use those techniques during

the debates, but he moved around the stage in a way that some Clinton supporters felt was meant to intimidate.

“Donald Trump relies on his size. It’s not as simple as height,” Reines said. He noted that Trump is said to weigh about 240 pounds: “That’s a presence. I think he uses it.”

In his first debate with Biden — which Trump told the Washington Examiner beforehand would be like a “prizefight” between “gladiators” — Trump appeared determined to dominate both Biden and moderator Chris Wallace, repeatedly interrupting them and ignoring time rules. Polls suggest the performance cost him support.

But the Trump-Biden chest-thumping dates back even to before Biden was the Democratic nominee. At an anti-sexual-assault rally in 2018, Biden told a crowd at the University of Miami, “If we were in high school, I’d take him behind the gym and beat the hell out of him.” He later expressed modest regret for the comment.

“I’ve been in a lot of locker rooms my whole life,” Biden added. “I’m a pretty damn good athlete. Any guy that talked [the way Trump does] was usually the fattest, ugliest SOB in the room.”

At the time, Trump had a rejoinder.

“He is weak, both mentally and physically, and yet he threatens me, for the second time, with physical assault,” Trump wrote on

Twitter. “He doesn’t know me, but he would go down fast and hard, crying all the way. Don’t threaten people Joe!”

This year, when Trump started making Biden’s physical and mental capacity a focus of his campaign, Biden responded by emphasizing his own workout regimen and asking voters to compare the two candidates’ fitness.

Biden rides a Peloton bike each morning and drinks protein shakes, and campaign aides often point toward him jogging along parade routes. Trump, in contrast, eschews exercise.

“Look at how he steps, and look how I step,” Biden told the ABC affiliate in Harrisburg, Pa., last month. “Watch how I run up ramps and he stumbles down ramps. Okay? C’mon.”

But since returning to the campaign trail this week, Trump has resumed touting his own strength. His campaign website this week flashed an image of Trump’s head superimposed on the muscular, toned body of a boxer in the ring, with a coronavirus particle dazed and fallen in the opposite corner. The caption: “President Trump crushed the coronavirus.”

And the president is now talking about his ostensible immunity from the virus as a kind of superpower.

“I feel so powerful,” he said recently in Florida, at his first rally since leaving the hospital. “I’ll walk into that audience. I’ll walk in there. I’ll kiss everyone in that audience. I’ll kiss the guys and the beautiful women . . . everybody. I’ll just give you a big fat kiss.”

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✿ ELECTION 2020

In the swamp, it’s sink or swim

As Trump staffers face the possibility of a one-term administration, finding new jobs in Washington could be a challenge — even with a polished résumé

BY JACQUELINE ALEMANY

Four years ago, some Republicans who said unsavory things during the campaign about the new president worried that such remarks might ruin their chances of redemption via employment in the Trump administration.

Today, some of those same Republicans are now quietly on the job hunt as President Trump’s standing in the polls continues to slide against Democratic nominee Joe Biden with decision time in just 18 days. But now, these GOP-ers are hoping the Trump presidency isn’t a disqualifying blemish on their résumés or Google footprint as the door revolves the other way and they seek to land, once again, in the private sector.

Gaining distance from Trump and some of his more incendiary statements is likely to be an easier task for some alumni than others.

Take Sean Spicer, for example, the most prominent example of a former Trump White House official whose life after Trump has been heavily scrutinized. As the administration’s first press secretary, Spicer was memorialized by Melissa McCarthy’s brutal satire on “Saturday Night Live” — Trump’s gripe with the sendup was that Spicer was played by a woman — and for fantastically clinging to inflated totals of the crowd size that witnessed Trump’s inauguration. Spicer later said he regretted such claims.

Since leaving the administration three years ago, Spicer has landed a few gigs on television, such as a contestant on ABC’s “Dancing with the Stars” and a show on conservative-leaning Newsmax TV. He has also penned two books.

But his career arc has veered far from the usual gigs secured by former White House press secretaries and senior administration officials. There’s been no cushy landing on K Street or high-profile consultancy at a major lobbying or public relations firm. It’s a fate that might befall many others in Trumpworld if the president loses — or even if they don’t relish staying on through a second term.

“There’s always a market for lobbyists, but look at someone like Spicer who had high-profile gigs in the White House and where did he land?” noted Amanda Carpenter, a Trump critic, CNN contributor and former aide to Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Tex.). “He’s a host on Newsmax right now. That’s not the kind of leg-up to high-profile communications in the corporate world that’s the typical path. . . . If he can’t do it, I think people with such a high profile will have similar problems.”

Spicer appreciates the concern but says he’s doing just fine. He’s thankful for all of the opportunities he says he’s had since leaving the White House. “I’m living a very happy life and provide for my



OLIVER CONTRERAS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Hope Hicks is among those who work in the Trump administration who may be trying to figure out their next move if their boss isn’t elected to a second term. Higher-profile White House officials could have more trouble finding a new job than lower-level staffers.

family and children, and for that I am very grateful,” said Spicer.

If Trump loses, “it’ll be challenging for Republicans everywhere” to find a new job, Spicer added. That’s just the way of Washington, where people “suck up to people with power, and they let go of people who let go of it.”

Over a dozen Republican strategists, former Trump administration staffers, current Capitol Hill hands and associates close to the Trump White House predict that many graduates of the Trump administration could have a tough time sticking a landing in the private sector.

They say Trump’s shaky standing in the campaign — and his pull on down-ballot races — is already making Republicans especially nervous.

“Quiet conversations in Gmail are more active now than would be expected a month before an election,” said a senior Republican strategist who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive conversations. “I have a buddy in the administration who is starting to quietly move his résumé around, and he’s noticed people who he thought would be quicker to respond to inquiries have been less so. He called it ‘the Trump stink. How much Trump stink is on my résumé right now?’ ”

For some Trump officials, leaving the administration for the corporate world could be seamless

and welcome — a necessary pit stop to refuel before 2024. And job churn is always inevitable if there’s a transfer of power in Washington.

“Americans have short memories,” said Rodney Pavaon, a former CIA analyst and member of the president’s daily brief team in the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations, now a partner with Martin+Crumpton Group. “One would think that the GOP would, as John McCain would say, ‘return to normal order,’ and then we can finally debate issues on the basis of real substance. But that’s the big \$64,000 question. What happens to the GOP after Trump?”

Former staffers who have departed the administration are already finding out. There has been record turnover in what has been a chaotic and fast-moving administration.

Some former Trump aides have landed on their feet. Former senior Trump economic adviser Kevin Hassett is now the managing director of a consulting firm and a distinguished visiting fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Institute, for instance. Ex-White House chief of staff Reince Priebus is president of the Michael Best & Friedrich law firm. John Martin, formerly of the Food and Drug Administration’s legislative affairs shop, is now at CRISPR Therapeutics. And Everett Eissenstat, Trump’s former economic adviser

on international trade, is now heading up global public policy at General Motors. Others have simply returned to their old jobs, like former White House counsel Donald McGahn, who is back at Jones Day.

Some ex-administration and campaign officials have found refuge in the Trump reelection campaign, the Republican National Committee or in conservative media — see Corey Lewandowski, Sarah Sanders, Jason Miller and Boris Epshteyn, to name a few. Others who came to Washington to work for Trump were never going to slip in and out of the institutional D.C. class — and aren’t likely to try to do so in a post-Trump world.

And that might be a good thing. While the revolving door between government and corporate America has swung swiftly for decades and made many former officials wealthy, it also has been the source of intense criticism from good-government groups who slam its corrupting influence on public policy.

Republicans say the ex-Trump aides most successful in transitioning are those who already had deep Washington connections. Those aides also stayed further away from the more controversial issues and investigations riddling the White House, these Republicans pointed out.

In several interviews, GOP

sources pointed to Priebus as someone who successfully avoided being “viewed as a lunatic,” as a GOP strategist phrased it. Those inside the orbit of Vice President Pence might also be spared of some of the trickier problems facing their colleagues. Jarrod Agen, Pence’s former deputy chief of staff and communications director, is now Lockheed Martin’s vice president of global media and digital communications, for example.

“Pence’s staff will be insulated more,” argued another GOP strategist who still works in Washington. “Especially as after-action reports come out about the role he played and the impact he was able to have on bigger decisions. His team ends up in a different boat.”

This strategist said more prominent White House aides such as Mark Meadows and Stephen Miller may have bigger hurdles than more anonymous mid-tier aides seeking a job.

“But I don’t think Stephen Miller ever foresaw a job on K Street,” the strategist added.

Kayleigh McEnany, the White House press secretary, is one of the most recognizable White House officials. Carpenter predicts she will have an even more difficult time than Spicer if and when she exits but adds for someone like McEnany, who made her name defending Trumpism on cable news, the benefits of the job might have outweighed other prospects.

“A lot of people who decided to work for Trump somehow told themselves a story that they were doing a better, higher good defending this man under any circumstance no matter what,” Carpenter said. “The [conservative media] hosts who didn’t want to do that got wiped out.”

McEnany did not respond to request for comment. But Trump staffers like her, who will ultimately walk away from the White House with even bigger social media followings, are likely to fare just fine as contributors to Trump-friendly media outlets or by working with groups aligned with Trump’s worldview. It’s unclear how much those groups will thrive if Trump isn’t in the White House.

And, for some in Trumpworld, flouting the political-industrial complex and heading back to New York might be a relief. That group could include Trump’s family members, such as Ivanka and her husband, Jared Kushner, who serve as senior White House advisers.

“I don’t think we know precisely what [Ivanka and Don Jr.] will do, but to just assume that they go back to Manhattan and are never heard from again just isn’t realistic,” said Doug Heye, a GOP strategist and former RNC spokesman. “Regardless, there will be head scratching and soul searching — there may be another [RNC] autopsy, and there will be that question of ‘where do I go to get my reputation back?’ ”

A Trump campaign staffer argued regardless, “the Trump movement, if he does lose, will not just go away.”

Trump is “going to get a lot of votes and win a lot of states, and there are elected officials who have tied their boats not just to Trump but the movement, and there will be plenty of opportunities for people to ride that movement,” the staffer added. “But yes, it is hard to move into the corporate world. There’s just that stigma of being a Trump person.”

CEOs and businesses have become increasingly critical of the president for stoking racial rancor. Republicans who now work with Fortune 500 companies agree any public defense of Trump on race and immigration — the hot-button issues on which Trump has staked his presidency — are the most problematic public positions to have taken for those seeking corporate gigs.

A former longtime intelligence officer who now works in the corporate world said red lines on hiring include politicizing intelligence, along with defending Trump on issues of race.

“If you’re against Black Lives Matter, if you’re pro-Proud Boys, and stuff like that? I won’t look at you at all,” the former officer noted.

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Hogan casts a write-in vote for Ronald Reagan

BY ROBERT COSTA AND ERIN COX

Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan (R) said he “voted for Ronald Reagan” in this year’s election, writing in the name of the late president and conservative icon after concluding that he could support neither President Trump nor Democratic nominee Joe Biden.

Hogan’s latest rejection of his party’s standard-bearer comes as he works to expand his political network nationwide ahead of a possible 2024 presidential bid, with a flurry of fundraisers this month for GOP candidates from Vermont to Nebraska who also cast themselves as pragmatic Republicans.

Many of the candidates Hogan is backing frequently come from centrist enclaves or suburban areas where the governor said he “could help a little bit and show Democrats the kind of Republican they can feel comfortable voting for.”

Last month, Hogan endorsed and filmed ads for Sen. Susan Collins (Maine), a New England Republican who is in a tough race. On Thursday, he held a virtual fundraiser for Rep. John Katko (R-N.Y.), a member of the bipartisan Problem Solvers Caucus.

On Oct. 22, he and Massachusetts Gov. Charlie Baker (R) — who also isn’t voting for the president — will hold a virtual town hall for Vermont Gov. Phil Scott (R), who supported the Trump impeachment probe and has said Trump “abused his powers” and should not be in office.

The efforts are a sharp depar-

ture from Hogan’s previous five years in public office, when he has mostly eschewed national campaigns and offered only limited backing of Republican candidates in his own state.

Until this week, Hogan, who is term-limited, had been coy about who he’d support in the presidential election, telling radio host Hugh Hewitt in July that he needed to “spend a little more time” on his decision.

In an interview with The Washington Post on Thursday, the governor said he voted by mail last week. He said he wrote Reagan’s name on his ballot because he wanted to make a statement and felt he could in a state where the president is deeply unpopular, and Biden led a recent Goucher College poll by 30 percentage points.

Hogan, 64, called Reagan “my hero in politics” alongside his late father, Larry Hogan Sr., whom he wrote in for president in 2016 after deciding that he could not support Trump or then-Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton. The elder Hogan, who died in 2017, was well known for being the first Republican in Congress to support President Richard M. Nixon’s impeachment in 1974.

“I know it’s simply symbolic. It’s not going to change the outcome in my state. But I thought it was important to just cast a vote that showed the kind of person I’d like to see in office,” Hogan said of his ballot this year.

In 2019, Hogan briefly considered a long-shot primary challenge to Trump, encouraged by high-profile Trump critics such as conservative commentator Wil-



BRIAN WITTE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan (R) wanted to make a statement and felt he could in a state where President Trump is deeply unpopular.

liam Kristol. But he decided against it.

Since then, Hogan has built a national profile as a blunt Trump critic, clashing repeatedly with the administration over the president’s response to the coronavirus pandemic. He was among four sitting Republican governors who did not endorse the push by Trump and Senate Republicans to confirm Supreme Court nominee Amy Coney Barrett before the election.

Hogan’s latest linking with Reagan is a reminder that as he explores a future in national politics, he is trying to balance his centrist reputation and moderate record with an appeal to traditional Republicans.

It won’t be easy. Hogan faces a crowd of other ambitious Republicans who are already busy making their own pitches to GOP voters,

including Hogan’s close friend Chris Christie, the former New Jersey governor. Unlike Hogan, most of these potential candidates are at least partly allied with Trump, who has dominated the party since he won the nomination four years ago.

Some Republicans nationally have shrugged at Hogan’s pitch, balking at the suggestion that he could win over rank-and-file GOP voters who roared at Trump’s hard-line message in 2016 and have stood by him since he won the White House.

Within Maryland, however, key Republicans see Hogan’s campaigning for moderates in other states as a crucial part of helping the party move forward.

“Our party will be in a different place after the election, whomever wins,” said Maryland House Mi-

nority Whip Kathy Szeliga (R). “He brings that ability to connect with a larger audience, which is something you have to do when you’re a Republican from a Democratic state.”

Hogan believes his record enables him to be a player in the debate over the GOP’s future even if he has sparred with Trump. He’s narrowly focused his agenda on pocketbook issues, trimming regulations and trying to stave off tax increases proposed by the Democratic-controlled legislature.

“I’m a lifelong conservative Republican,” Hogan said on Thursday, rattling off a list of his long-ago campaign efforts for Reagan. “Reagan was the guy. I marched around as a college kid on the floor of the convention with a Reagan hat and a Reagan sign.”

Asked if he would be tempted by an offer to serve in Biden’s Cabinet, should Biden win, Hogan ruled out the idea and said he is committed to serving out his term, which ends in January 2023, and to remaining a Republican.

Hogan said Reagan’s ability to appeal to conservatives and blue-collar Democratic voters remains his guidebook, both for Maryland and for the GOP as it looks beyond Trump.

“People really want someone who’s pragmatic, who’s not afraid to compromise,” Hogan said, bemoaning the “extremes” he sees with Democrats and Republicans in Washington. He often touts his 2018 negotiations with Maryland Democrats to pass a tax on insurance companies, which subsidizes the rising cost of policies sold on the health exchange established through President Barack Obama’s health-care law.

As governor, Hogan said his priority remains the pandemic and

related issues in the state. But he acknowledged that he wants to keep building political relationships outside of Maryland, with the intention of establishing a network of like-minded Republicans who are able to support each other regardless of who wins the White House next month.

His political activities were fueled earlier in the year by the release of his memoir, “Still Standing,” and are centered on his national political group, An America United, aides said.

Hogan has traveled out of state to support House GOP candidates, such as Tom Kean Jr. in New Jersey and Rep. Brian Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.) in the Philadelphia suburbs.

Kean is the son of former New Jersey governor Tom Kean Sr., one of the GOP’s longtime moderate voices. Fitzpatrick represents a critical district in one of the nation’s battlegrounds. A former FBI agent, he is known for being bipartisan and supporting environmental protections.

A Hogan adviser said the Kean event on Oct. 5 in Far Hills, N.J., was outside with “everyone wearing masks, and it was distanced.”

Hogan said he will hold a virtual fundraiser for Rep. Don Bacon (R-Neb.) later this month. While Bacon, a retired Air Force brigadier general, has endorsed Trump, he — like Hogan — has urged both the president and Democrats to be more civil.

“For the most part, they’re similar types of guys,” Hogan said. “They’re fed up with politics as usual. . . . I’m helping Susan Collins and Phil Scott and Tom Kean and Fitzpatrick because I believe in them. These are the people the party needs more of.”

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QAnon devotees celebrate Trump’s comments on conspiracy movement

BY CRAIG TIMBERG

President Trump’s refusal to disavow the baseless QAnon conspiracy theory in Thursday night’s nationally televised town hall event cheered members of the far-right community, who regarded his comments as an endorsement of their movement.

“This was the biggest pitch for QANON I’ve ever seen,” an anonymous member of the community said on the fringe social media site 4chan after Trump’s appearance on NBC’s prime-time event.

But Trump’s response to a question from moderator Savannah Guthrie offered a shot of validation from the central figure in the QAnon cosmology, which portrays the president a savior waging a secret war against a cabal of satanic pedophiles, supposedly including prominent Democrats and

Hollywood celebrities.

When Guthrie asked the president to disavow the conspiracy theory as “completely not true,” Trump replied, “I know nothing about it. I do know they are very much against pedophilia. They fight it very hard, but I know nothing about it.”

A QAnon supporter on 8kun, another fringe site, approved: “I thought he had the perfect answer.”

Another 8kun user said of Trump’s reply, “masterfully done by POTUS” — using an acronym for president of the United States.

Trump’s comments — and the reaction generated by them — echoed his call in last month’s presidential debate for the Proud Boys, another far-right group to “stand back and stand by.” That line, from which Trump later sought to distance himself, set off

celebrations across social media among supporters of the all-male fringe group that often engages in street violence.

QAnon, born in October 2017, has grown sharply in recent months, buoyed by conspiracies related to vaccines and the coronavirus pandemic and has sharpened its focus on Trump’s reelection. The election has increasingly become the focal point of the movement, which had seen its popularity skyrocket on the encrypted messaging app Telegram and Facebook, according to research by the SITE Intelligence Group, which tracks political extremism.

“It’s beyond words how much Donald Trump has elevated the domestic threat that is QAnon,” said Rita Katz, the executive director of SITE. “I’ve never been more worried for U.S. democracy than I

am now, and it’s disturbing how much of this fear is coming from the president himself.”

Although Facebook announced restrictions on QAnon in August, SITE’s research documented sharp growth in the number of groups devoted to the conspiracy theory on Facebook and the numbers of members of those groups. Facebook toughened its restrictions Oct. 6, imposing a near-total ban that should make it much harder for the QAnon to organize and recruit on the site.

QAnon’s response to Trump’s comments also could be found on Instagram, the photo-sharing subsidiary of Facebook, after the NBC event. One widely circulated meme, accompanied by hashtags affiliated with the conspiracy theory, showed an image of Guthrie altered to appear demonic, with red eyes, and called her a “Practic-

ing Satanic Witch.”

The Coalition for a Safer Web, a nonprofit group that advocates for technologies and policies to remove extremist content from social media, found that and other QAnon social media posts celebrating Trump’s comments.

“They love it,” said the coalition’s president, former U.S. ambassador to Morocco Marc Ginsberg. “It’s ricocheting around all over the place.”

Much of the QAnon celebration of Trump’s comments was on Telegram channels based in Germany, one of several nations where the conspiracy theory, born in the United States, has increasingly taken root.

Trump’s prime-time comments were in line with mounting offline signals of the conspiracy theory’s growing hold among the president’s supporters.

In August, the president’s reelection campaign accepted more than \$1 million from a couple whose planned September fundraiser — which they were to host for Vice President Pence — was canceled after the Associated Press reported that they were vocal supporters of QAnon.

The contributions, from Caryn and Michael Borland of southern California, were reflected in campaign finance disclosures made public on Thursday. Each of the retirees contributed around half a million dollars, and their son, who lists his occupation as “student,” contributed a similar amount, the filings show. The couple did not immediately respond to an email seeking comment.

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Isaac Stanley-Becker contributed to this report.

White House Debrief

ASHLEY PARKER

The question from NBC’s Savannah Guthrie should have been an easy one.

Would President Trump denounce QAnon, the broad and outlandish conspiracy theory that, as she put it, argues that “Democrats are a satanic pedophile ring, and that you are the savior of that?”

“Can you just once and for all state that that is completely not true?” Guthrie asked Trump on Thursday night during an hour-long NBC town hall.

But Trump could not quite bring himself to denounce the group.

He feigned ignorance. (“I know nothing about QAnon.”) He offered light praise. (“I do know they are very much against pedophilia.”) He tried to change the topic. (“Why aren’t you asking me about the radical left?”)

Then, finally, the president offered more mild approbation for the group, many of whose members support him and are visible at his rallies with their QAnon signs and homemade T-shirts.

“What I do hear about it is they are very strongly against pedophilia, and I agree with that,” Trump said. “I do agree with that, and I agree with it very strongly.”

Denouncing white supremacy and groups like QAnon, which the FBI has deemed a domestic terrorism threat, used to be considered Politics 101 — akin to kissing babies and posing with the butter cow at the Iowa State Fair. But since announcing himself as a presidential candidate more than five years ago, Trump has struggled to condemn everyone from white supremacists to dictators and global strongmen.

Instead, Trump’s approach is almost purely transactional, guided by a quid-pro-quo embrace of just about anyone who embraces him back.

“Not only does he absolutely and unequivocally embrace anyone who will say anything nice about him at any time — Hello Kim Jong Un! Hello Vladimir Putin! — but the moment that person says something even just mildly critical, that’s the end of Trump’s celebration,” said Tony Schwartz, who co-wrote Trump’s 1987 bestseller, “The Art of the Deal,” but has since become a vocal Trump critic. “He’s always puffing his chest out, because the alternative is for it to collapse.”

Despite backlash, Trump embraces those who embrace him back



A woman holds a sign for the QAnon conspiracy theory during a pro-Trump rally Sunday in Ronkonkoma, N.Y. President Trump shielded away from completely denouncing QAnon at his town hall Thursday, similar to his response regarding the Proud Boys.

David Axelrod — who served as senior adviser to former president Barack Obama — offered a pithy distillation on Twitter: “Every major television event these days, the @POTUS gives a veiled shout out to some whacko extremist group. Why? Because they say nice things about HIM. Everyone from Putin and Kim Jung Un to the Proud Boys and QAnon have figured it out.”

Trump’s reluctance to disavow or condemn controversial figures dates back to at least his 2016 campaign, when he repeatedly offered less-than-forceful condemnations of former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke.

Asked in 2015 to repudiate Duke, who had offered Trump what a Bloomberg News reporter

described as a “quasi-endorsement,” Trump offered a lukewarm rebuke.

“Sure, I would do that, if it made you feel better,” Trump said, before adding that while he didn’t know anything about Duke, he had heard that Duke has praised him.

“He said I was absolutely the best of all the candidates,” Trump said, with apparent pride.

Later, in a lengthy exchange with CNN’s Jake Tapper in early 2016, Trump again seemed hesitant to offer an unequivocal condemnation of Duke and the KKK.

“Well, I have to look at the group,” Trump said. “I mean, I don’t know what group you’re talking about. You wouldn’t want me to condemn a group that I

know nothing about. I would have to look.”

Once in office, the problematic tendency continued. In 2017, after a rally in Charlottesville organized by white supremacists and neo-Nazis turned violent — leaving one woman dead and 19 people injured — Trump was slow to condemn white supremacists, offering three head-spinning statements in four days.

First, he denounced “this egregious display of hatred, bigotry and violence on many sides,” repeating “on many sides” a second time for emphasis. Then — in response to widespread criticism that his initial remarks were insufficient — Trump issued a second scripted statement during a last-minute news conference: “Racism is evil, and

those who cause violence in its name are criminals and thugs, including the KKK, neo-Nazis, white supremacists and other hate groups,” he said. And finally, the president summed up the blame by arguing that “there’s incident on both sides” and “very fine people on both sides.”

Tim O’Brien, a senior columnist for Bloomberg Opinion and a Trump biographer who is critical of the president, said Trump’s seeming support of controversial groups stems from his own self-doubt.

“He’s so deeply insecure and has this grab bag of uncertainties about his own abilities that anyone who shows him fealty or loyalty, he returns that in spades,” said O’Brien, who worked for former New York mayor Mike

Bloomberg’s Democratic presidential campaign this year.

“Donald Trump has never had an ounce of morality,” he added. “There’s no moral compass there; there’s only a cult of personality.”

In 2018, Sen. Lindsey O. Graham (R-S.C.), a Trump ally, tried to push back on allegations that Trump is racist by arguing that the president is simply pro-Trump.

“You can be as dark as charcoal and lily white; it doesn’t matter as long as you’re nice to him,” Graham told CNN’s Dana Bash. “You can be the pope and criticize him; it doesn’t matter. He’ll go after the pope.” (In fact, Trump has sparred with Pope Francis.)

“What you say about him matters more than anything else,” Graham concluded.

Trump has frequently expressed support and admiration for strongman leaders — including Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte, North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Egyptian President Abdel Fatah al-Sissi — in no small part because those leaders have flattered him.

More recently, during the first presidential debate, Trump offered only a tepid denunciation of the Proud Boys, a far-right, all-male group known for its violent tactics, as well as the group’s presence at some of Trump’s rallies.

Asked by the debate moderator, Fox News’s Chris Wallace, to condemn the group, Trump offered words that were as much a call to action as condemnation. “Proud Boys — stand back and stand by” the president said.

Schwartz, who is also the author of a new book, “Dealing with the Devil: My Mother, Trump and Me,” recalled that when he was working with Trump on “The Art of the Deal,” Trump would call him every night and end nearly all of their conversations with, “Tony, you’re the greatest.”

In listening to Trump talk to others, Schwartz said, he would conclude roughly 70 percent of conversations in a similar manner — and end the rest by slamming down the phone.

“So he lives in this utterly binary world in which you’re either all good because you’re for him or you’re all bad because you’re against him, and there is no in-between,” Schwartz explained. “He is without nuance, he is without subtlety, he is without shades of gray.”

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U.S. rejects Putin’s proposal to extend nuclear arms treaty

BY JOHN HUDSON AND PAUL SONNE

The Trump administration rejected a proposal by Russian President Vladimir Putin for a one-year extension of a critical nuclear arms-control treaty Friday, dimming the chances of a diplomatic breakthrough before the Nov. 3 U.S. presidential election.

Putin offered to extend New START, a 10-year treaty that places limits on the two countries’ nuclear warheads, without preconditions at a meeting of his security council, but national security adviser Robert C. O’Brien called the proposal a “non-starter.”

“We hope that Russia will re-evaluate its position before a costly arms race ensues,” O’Brien said in a statement.

The breakdown in negotiations comes as President Trump, trailing Democratic rival Joe Biden in national polling, urges his diplomats to bring him foreign policy victories.

The 2010 treaty, which expires in February, restricts the number

of deployed strategic nuclear warheads and certain launch platforms. If the treaty isn’t extended or replaced, the world’s two biggest nuclear powers will return to an era without substantive restraints on their arsenals for the first time in decades.

As with other last-minute efforts to forge diplomatic breakthroughs before the election, such as a rapprochement between Sudan and Israel, U.S. diplomats appear in need of more time to work out the details.

On Friday, Putin said it would be “exceedingly sad” if the treaty expired. His foreign minister, Sergei Lavrov, blamed U.S. intransigence for demanding a large number of preconditions that go beyond the treaty.

The Trump administration didn’t start negotiations in earnest until earlier this year, prompting criticism from arms-control advocates who said discussions with the Russians should have begun much sooner.

The Trump administration’s arms-control envoy, Marshall

Billingslea, initially insisted that China participate in talks. He wanted any replacement treaty to include China and to encompass all of Russia’s nuclear weapons — not just the “strategic” weapons covered under New START but also its sizable stockpile of smaller, “tactical” nuclear weapons that fall outside the treaty. Billingslea also insisted that verification mechanisms for any follow-on treaty be strengthened.

Russia rejected the demands, and China has refused to take part in negotiations.

Trump then dispatched O’Brien to meet with his Russian counterpart, Nikolai Patrushev, early this month in Geneva.

“We’ve come to a logjam in our meetings with the Russians on New START, and so we felt — the president thought it would be helpful if I went and spoke to my counterpart to break the logjam,” O’Brien said in an Oct. 5 interview with radio host Hugh Hewitt.

After that meeting and the calls between Trump and Putin, the Trump administration thought an

agreement in principle had been reached, prompting Billingslea to divert a trip in Asia to Helsinki to again meet with his Russian counterpart. The administration was hoping to agree to extend New START for one or two years and in the meantime place a freeze on both countries’ full nuclear arsenals, Billingslea told reporters. But that deal hasn’t materialized.

Speaking Tuesday at the Heritage Foundation, Billingslea reiterated that he believed the United States and Russia had reached an “agreement in principle at the highest levels of our two governments” and said he hoped the “gentleman’s agreement” would “percolate down through their system so that my counterpart hopefully will be authorized to negotiate.”

On Friday, Putin made no mention of a mutual freeze on the countries’ nuclear stockpiles, proposing instead a simple one-year extension of the treaty with no conditions while Moscow and Washington negotiate what comes next.

The White House rejected the proposal out of hand, saying it wanted a more ambitious agreement.

“The United States proposed an extension of New START for one year, in exchange for Russia and the United States capping all nuclear warheads during that period,” O’Brien said. “This would have been a win for both sides, and we believed the Russians were willing to accept this proposal when I met with my counterpart in Geneva.”

The treaty includes a clause that allows the leaders of both nations to extend the agreement by five years without requiring ratification. Both Putin and Biden have said they would agree to the five-year extension.

Despite the apparent breakdown in talks on Friday, Washington and Moscow could still revive the negotiations before the election. But the Russians have an incentive to wait and see the outcome of the vote, because Biden so far has signaled his willingness to extend the current treaty as it stands. If Biden wins, he would

have about two weeks after inauguration to extend the pact.

Billingslea initially warned that the Russians would pay a price if they didn’t agree to a deal before the election and Trump emerged victorious, but he later appeared to back off that threat.

“We can have a deal tomorrow, or we can have a deal whenever. We’re ambivalent,” Billingslea said Tuesday. “The ball is in Russia’s court, but I do think this will be in Russia’s interest ultimately, so hopefully they’ll take the deal.”

While it is unclear how much significance American voters place on U.S. foreign policy, Trump has sought to showcase his skills as a peacemaker in the final stretch of the election.

Last month, he tweeted that U.S. troops “should” come home from Afghanistan by Christmas, a timeline his military leaders have questioned. He also previewed that “five or six” nations were poised to make normalization agreements with Israel following the U.S.-brokered deals with the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain, but those have yet to materialize.

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THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

Doctors search for treatments for covid-19 ‘long-haulers’

VIRUS FROM A1

country, in every language,” said Igor J. Koralnik, who started a program for covid-19 neurocognitive problems at Northwestern Memorial Hospital in Chicago, one of numerous post-covid-19 clinics opening in the country. “It’s going to be a big problem. It’s not going to go away.”

Chiluisa’s care is coordinated by the Winchester Chest Clinic at Yale New Haven Hospital. The Center for Post-Covid Care operated by the Mount Sinai health-care system in New York City boasts on its website that it has clinical specialists from 12 disciplines. Penn Medicine’s clinic in Philadelphia bills itself as a “post-covid assessment and recovery clinic.”

While doctors have accumulated many years of experience in the long-term management of diseases such as diabetes and renal failure, they have no such expertise in covid-19, which is barely 10 months old.

“The patients are very scared because nobody has very clear answers for them,” said Denyse Lutchmansingh, Chiluisa’s pulmonologist. “They are happy to feel heard. They are happy that people are trying to help them. But at the end of the day, [they would] like to be told for sure: ‘This is what is going to happen to you. This is not what is going to happen to you.’ And that’s the part that’s difficult for us in medicine, because it’s not completely clear.”

Clinicians have learned, for example, that a wide spectrum of patients experience long-term symptoms, from those who were hospitalized to those who had mild bouts, from the young to the old. Southern Connecticut was hit early in the pandemic, when the virus was overwhelming the greater New York City area and relatively little was known about the course of the disease.

“The symptoms that they have span every organ system,” said Jennifer Possick, the Winchester Chest Clinic’s medical director. “It has so many more faces than I thought it would.”

No one knows how many long-haulers there may be, although a British team recently estimated that as many as 10 percent of the people who contract the disease suffer prolonged symptoms. In July, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported that 35 percent of people who had mild versions of covid-19 had not returned to their pre-disease state of health two to three weeks later.

Many long-haulers have organized online support groups, such as Survivor Corps and Body Politic, to share tips and discuss symptoms.

Chiluisa’s family moved from Ecuador to Connecticut when he was 11, and he grew up in the area. He worked as an EMT, owned a bakery and then went back to school to become a CT scan technician at Yale New Haven Hospital.

He was in the hospital’s emergency department in early March when the virus struck the region. Exposed to a positive patient, he came down with mild symptoms — aches, low-grade fever and some sweating, he said. By the time he could get tested, the result came back negative. Lutchmansingh said she will never know whether Chiluisa was infected then by the novel coronavirus or some other pathogen.

In May, however, there was no doubt. Chiluisa awoke sweating profusely, with a fever of 103 degrees. This time, he tested positive for the coronavirus.

He was hospitalized for seven



PHOTOS BY STAN GODLEWSKI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Physical therapist Catherine Rives works with Eddie Chiluisa at Yale New Haven Hospital’s Winchester Chest Clinic in New Haven, Conn. Chiluisa, a 51-year-old employee at the hospital, is receiving care from a team of specialists through the clinic’s Post-Covid-19 Recovery Program. “The disease, it wears on you — body, mind and spirit,” he said.



Pulmonologist Denyse Lutchmansingh meets with a patient in the post-covid-19 program. “The patients are very scared,” she said.

days, five of them in intensive care, where he directed doctors not to put him on a ventilator, regardless of how severe his illness became. He feared the consequences of sedation and intubation more than the alternatives, he said.

Instead, physicians treated him with a combination of drugs: remdesivir; tocilizumab, a drug used to combat rheumatoid arthritis and other autoimmune disorders; convalescent plasma; a steroid; and even hydroxychloroquine, the drug President Trump erroneously touted as a therapy for the disease. The drug was later removed from Yale’s treatment regimen when research showed it had no value and could harm patients.

“The doctor said: ‘We’re going to give you a cocktail. If it works, you live. If it doesn’t work, then you die,’” Chiluisa recalled. “And I agreed with him, because I didn’t want to be intubated.”

Chiluisa’s 24-year-old son became infected as well, but his wife

and two daughters did not get the disease.

Chiluisa recovered and was released from the hospital — only to be readmitted for a day in June when the oxygen in his blood dropped to dangerously low levels. He was released again and has consistently tested negative, but he has never felt well.

Chiluisa seems to embody much of the worst the virus can do. His heart races. His lungs are inflamed. His chest aches and feels constricted. Even now, he coughs up a thick mucus that is becoming worse despite a variety of treatments. His sense of taste, which did not disappear as it has in some other covid-19 patients, has been altered.

Most ominously, an MRI shows that the white matter of his brain is littered with tiny lesions that may be the cause of neurological problems, including memory lapses, trouble concentrating, difficulty finding words and stuttering. He has insomnia, depression and anxiety, and other symptoms

that resemble post-traumatic stress disorder.

The brain lesions are more commonly found in older people, or those with uncontrolled metabolic disorders such as diabetes or chronic high blood pressure, said his neurologist, Arman Fesharaki-Zadeh. Chiluisa has no such underlying conditions.

If the brain is a series of interconnected highways, each lesion is a work zone that slows the flow of information, Fesharaki-Zadeh said. They also may make Chiluisa prone to dementia at an earlier age.

“For someone without a history of metabolic disorder . . . for his brain to look the way it did to me was quite striking,” he said. No one knows whether Chiluisa’s dysfunctions are permanent or progressive, or whether his brain will find new paths around the obstacles and restore his ability to live and work normally.

Chiluisa’s heart and lung problems present other mysteries. Despite some lingering bacteria in his lungs that have resisted antibiotic treatments, Chiluisa performs relatively normally on tests of pulmonary and cardiac function.

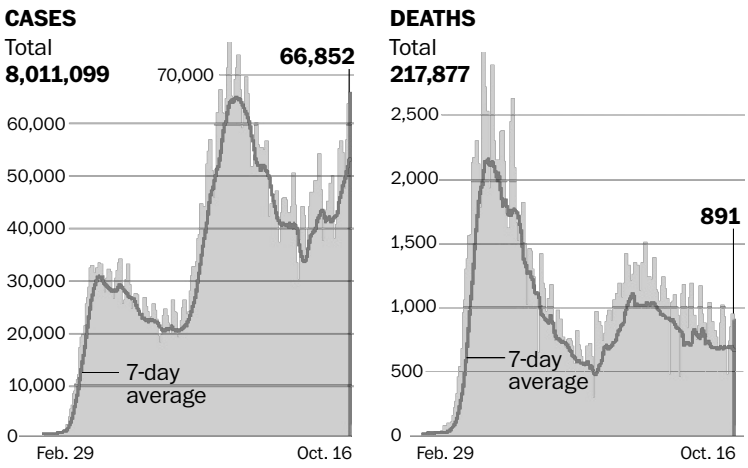
But instead of progressing, his condition has fluctuated unpredictably as the months have passed. He becomes winded and exhausted quickly. His blood pressure rises rapidly.

“He has a lot of symptoms that are ongoing, that are seemingly suggestive of an underlying heart condition, but our testing, for the most part, has been normal,” said Erica Spatz, an associate professor of cardiovascular medicine at the Yale School of Medicine who is Chiluisa’s cardiologist.

It’s possible, she said, that the virus has disrupted Chiluisa’s autonomic nervous system, which controls functions such as heart and respiratory rates. Or perhaps

New coronavirus cases and deaths in the U.S., by day

As of 8 p.m. Friday



Chiluisa’s own immune and inflammatory response to the viral attack did the damage.

The symptoms are probably not permanent, Spatz said, but it’s not clear how long they may last.

“This feels very hard, because we don’t know,” she said. “And we’re learning as we go, and we’re learning from our patients and with our patients about their experiences. And that’s very unsettling as a physician, to not feel that you’re ahead.”

Similarly, Lutchmansingh has no conclusive explanation for why Chiluisa can become so short of breath that he briefly put himself on supplemental oxygen on two recent occasions.

“Edison’s normal, run-of-the-mill lung-function testing is normal,” she said. “But he clearly doesn’t feel well. We’ve [examined] the usual already. Now we’re going to the unusual.” She said she is exploring whether the muscles that aid the lungs in respiration are working normally.

For Chiluisa and his family, the disease — along with the worry it has caused, including over financial issues — has become exhausting.

At one point in his convalescence, he said, he ran through his paid time off and Yale stopped paying him. Currently, the state of Connecticut’s medical insurance program is picking up his costs, but he believes Yale will eventually have to pay the tab because he was exposed in the workplace. Still, he frets that a financial burden will fall on him and his family.

A spokeswoman for the hospital declined to discuss Chiluisa’s employment history.

Worried about reinfection, an extremely unlikely possibility, Chiluisa is also uncomfortable working at the hospital, where he currently performs administrative duties. And since he is still coughing, he also doesn’t like being around other people. Encouraged by his family, he is contemplating another career change.

“Psychologically, I’m not ready. Physically, I’m not ready,” he said. “The psychological is even worse than the physical part. You feel afraid, afraid to go back to the [emergency department].”

“So my mental state is ‘I don’t want to die.’ Put it that way.”

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Pfizer: Vaccine candidate won’t be ready for approval until late November

BY CAROLYN Y. JOHNSON

Pharmaceutical giant Pfizer on Friday dashed prospects for a coronavirus vaccine being approved before the election with an open letter explaining the company would not apply for regulatory clearance for its vaccine candidate until the third week of November at the earliest.

President Trump has for months suggested a vaccine could be imminent, raising concerns that political pressure could force a vaccine through the regulatory process prematurely so that it would be approved by Election Day without evidence that it is safe and effective. Friday’s announcement from Pfizer, which designed its trial to allow earlier and more frequent peaks at the data than the others in late-stage testing, puts those concerns to rest.

Chief executive Albert Bourla

wrote in the letter that while the company projects it may have enough data to determine whether the vaccine is effective in October, there will not be sufficient safety follow-up to satisfy criteria laid out by the Food and Drug Administration until late November.

“A key point that I’d like to make clear is that effectiveness would satisfy only one of the three requirements and, alone, would not be enough for us to apply for approval for public use,” Bourla said. “Safety is, and will remain, our number one priority.”

The letter was welcomed by Eric Topol, a physician-scientist at Scripps Research Translational Institute who joined other experts in writing to Bourla in late September, asking the company not to seek authorization for a vaccine before late November. Topol recently had a virtual meeting with

company executives to express his concerns and said he was frustrated they would not answer directly whether they would seek broader use of a vaccine before Nov. 3.

Bourla’s emphasis on having data in October “is what got many of us concerned, whether it was inadvertently playing into the political pressure or just because the incentives were aligned,” Topol said. “I thought [the letter] was very good. I wish it had been done potentially even earlier.”

Bourla made clear that while the company won’t seek approval until reaching the safety threshold, it could announce data on whether the vaccine candidate works before the election.

Pfizer’s trial will ultimately include 44,000 study subjects, with half receiving two shots of its experimental vaccine and the other half receiving placebo inoculations. Neither participants, study

investigators nor company executives know who received a vaccine and who did not. But periodically throughout the trial, an independent committee is examining the data to see whether the vaccine is protecting participants from infection, as demonstrated by far fewer cases of covid-19, the disease caused by the virus, in those getting the shots than those receiving a placebo.

“In the spirit of candor, we will share any conclusive readout (positive or negative) with the public as soon as practical, usually a few days after the independent scientists notify us,” Bourla wrote.

The FDA in October issued guidance explaining the criteria for an emergency use authorization, saying a vaccine given to healthy people will be held to a higher standard than the typically low threshold that a medical product “may be effective” for emer-

gency use. The agency put forth a requirement — despite White House objections — that vaccine candidates must have a minimum of two months of follow-up data on half of the participants in the study.

Pfizer will not have such data until the third week of November. Moderna, a biotechnology company, will not have enough safety data to apply for regulatory authorization until two days before Thanksgiving, according to spokesman Ray Jordan. Two other late-stage vaccine trials, from AstraZeneca and Johnson & Johnson, are paused because of potential safety concerns and have previously predicted readouts from their trials around the end of the year.

White House spokesman Judd Deere said the Trump administration has expedited development of safe and effective treatments and

vaccines that normally would have taken years.

“The President continues to be optimistic that we will have one or more vaccines very soon, before the end of the year,” Deere said in an email.

As it has become clear that a vaccine is almost certainly out of reach before the election, Trump has pivoted to talking about an experimental treatment that he received, monoclonal antibodies, which he compared to a cure.

“I heard about this drug. I said, ‘Let me take it,’” Trump said in a video posted to social media shortly after he received an infusion of the laboratory-made antibodies. “If I didn’t catch [coronavirus], we’d be looking at that like a number of other drugs. But it did a fantastic job. I’m going to get for you what I got. I’m going to make it free.”

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THE WORLD

BY DANIELLE PAQUETTE

DAKAR, SENEGAL — One president is 82. The other is 78.

They've both held power for a decade, the maximum their constitutions allow. But they're still running this month for fiercely contested third terms.

Alpha Condé, the leader of Guinea, and Alassane Ouattara, the head of Ivory Coast, are vying to extend their tenures on Sunday and Oct. 31, respectively, setting off pre-election protests that have left dozens dead across their countries.

The tension is soaring at a fragile moment for West Africa.

A coup d'état in neighboring Mali brought Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta's second term to a dramatic end in August, raising concerns about a power vacuum as the nation struggles to fend off fighters linked to al-Qaeda and the Islamic State.

Guinea and Ivory Coast also are vulnerable to attacks, analysts say.

Fellow heads of state in West Africa have urged Condé and Ouattara to reconsider, warning that regional stability is at stake.

"We need to adhere to the constitutional provisions of our countries, particularly on term limits," Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari told his counterparts at a meeting last month. "This is one area that generates crisis and political tension in our subregion."

Yet Condé and Ouattara say constitutional changes have reset the clock on the number of terms in office they are legally allowed — claims their opponents have loudly rejected. Neither has shown signs of backing down as voters prepare to head to the polls.

Unrest could provide an opportunity for militants who are already creeping toward the coastal states. Ivory Coast, for instance, endured its deadliest attack in four years this summer when suspected al-Qaeda loyalists ambushed an army outpost near the country's northern border, killing 14 soldiers.

"These violent people build on local disagreements," said Mathias Hounkpe, who leads the political governance program at the Open Society Initiative for West Africa, a pro-democracy group in Dakar. "Security forces will be mobilized to control the political situation instead of looking for extremist hot spots."

The extremists put down roots in Mali nearly a decade ago after the collapse of the Libyan government and gained influence by exploiting ethnic clashes — using a strategy of picking sides and offering protection.

They have since spread into Niger and Burkina Faso, where the number of attacks has more than doubled in the past year.

The conflict killed at least 4,825 people in 2019, according to a tally by the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, and the death toll this year had reached 5,365 by October, driven in part by the armed responses of state security forces.

Economic damage from coronavirus lockdowns, meanwhile, threatens West Africa's capacity to strike back: The regional economy, once forecast to grow by 4 percent this year, is on track to shrink by 2 percent.

"I urge us all to resist the temptation of seeking to perpet-

uate ourselves in power," the Nigerian president said in his September speech, adding that West Africa "cannot afford another political crisis."

Ivory Coast's last political crisis triggered a civil war that killed approximately 3,000 people and forced hundreds of thousands from their homes.

That conflict erupted when President Laurent Gbagbo refused to step down after losing the 2010 election to Ouattara. (Gbagbo now lives in exile in Belgium.)

Ouattara pledged to leave office at the end of his second term. Then his chosen successor, Prime Minister Amadou Gon Coulibaly, died of a heart attack.

Out of terms, two West African presidents are running anyway

Tension soars in fragile moment for region as Guinea, Ivory Coast leaders try to retain power



Ivory Coast's Alassane Ouattara, 78, who vowed to quit after a second term, is now seeking reelection in an Oct. 31 vote.



Guinea's Alpha Condé, 82, pushed through a constitutional referendum measure allowing him to run in Sunday's vote.



A man in Guinea's capital, Conakry, sits in front of posters publicizing Condé's reelection campaign. Condé's run for a third term and a similar bid by Ivory Coast's president have been denounced as threatening democracy and inviting violence.

"We need to adhere to the constitutional provisions of our countries, particularly on term limits. This is one area that generates crisis and political tension in our subregion."

Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari, addressing his counterparts in West Africa at a meeting in September

"President Ouattara is committed to passing a strong democracy on to the next generation," Patrick Achi, the minister of state and secretary general of Ivory Coast, said in an email. "However, Gon Coulibaly's sudden and tragic death in July, just 12 weeks before the election, changed the stakes, robbing Ivory Coast of a leader capable of maintaining the socio-economic progress of the last decade."

Ouattara's main opponents are former prime minister Pascal Affi N'Guessan and former president Henri Konan Bedie, and at a joint appearance on Thursday, they called on their supporters to boycott the election and "block this electoral coup d'état," as Affi

N'Guessan declared.

Former first lady Simone Gbagbo — who, like her husband, was acquitted of charges of crimes against humanity and was granted amnesty by Ouattara — has called for the election to be postponed, saying she wants the country to avoid another round of bloodshed.

Several people have died in clashes since Ouattara announced his candidacy, and hundreds have been injured.

"We must stop this," Simone Gbagbo said in an interview. "It only hurts the people, the country."

Ouattara's team denied involvement in the violence.

"The president strongly condemned the unfounded accusations which suggest that the security forces have killed demonstrators," Achi said. "He deplored the loss of life."

In Guinea, people once praised Condé as the first president since independence in 1958 to win office through free elections.

Now critics accuse him of exploiting the pandemic to stay in power.

As West Africa recorded its first coronavirus cases in March, the Guinean leader pushed through a constitutional referendum measure allowing him to seek reelection. His government ordered protesters to stay home, citing public health measures, and deployed soldiers as enforcers. (Condé's office did not respond to requests for comment.)

Over the past year, at least 50 people have died in clashes with security forces and counterprotesters, according to a report this month from Amnesty International.

"It is not conceivable that, in a normal country, there are so many deaths without any investigation being carried out to identify the perpetrators," Condé's top opponent, Cellou Dalein Diallo, said at a news conference last month in Dakar.

U.N. officials expressed alarm last week at what they described as "dangerous" hate speech ahead of Guinea's election as the bashing of ethnic groups emerged in national dialogue. (Condé's primary supporters are the Malinke people, and Diallo draws more Fulani backers.)

"We fear what comes next," said Makalé Camara, one of the 11 candidates running against Condé for the presidency. "Even if you work for the administration, you have to submit to the president or you will be fired or jailed."

Presidential term limits are widely considered to be cornerstones of peace. Nine of the 10 nations facing civil conflicts on the continent are those without term limits, according to the Africa Center for Strategic Studies in Washington.

A violent response to protests erodes public trust and distracts from other dangers, said Rinaldo Depagne, the West Africa project director at the International Crisis Group, a nonprofit organization focused on conflict resolution.

"The force you are using to repress your own people," Depagne said, "you are not using it to control your borders."

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Borso Tall contributed to this report.

DIGEST

AFGHANISTAN

Taliban agrees to halt attacks in Helmand

The Taliban said on Friday that it has agreed to suspend attacks in southern Afghanistan that have displaced thousands this week — but only after the United States promised to halt all strikes and night raids in keeping with the peace agreement it signed with the insurgents in February.

The United States has been conducting airstrikes in support of Afghan forces trying to repel Taliban assaults in Helmand province that threatened to derail efforts to end Afghanistan's 19-year war.

The Taliban pledge came after a meeting with U.S. peace envoy Zalmay Khalilzad and Gen. Austin Miller, commander of U.S. troops in Afghanistan, a Taliban figure familiar with the talks said. He spoke on the condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to talk to the media.

The Taliban agreed to suspend its operations after the United States said it would end drone strikes on insurgent positions, as well as night raids and air

assaults, the Taliban figure said.

Helmand has been the scene of a blistering Taliban assault since last week, with rocket attacks from the Taliban and retaliatory airstrikes from U.S. and Afghan aircraft forcing over 5,600 families from their homes.

The flare-up came even as the Afghan government and the Taliban are holding peace talks in Qatar, where the Taliban has a political office.

— Associated Press

SOUTH AFRICA

Racial tensions rise over farm killing

A tense standoff between White farmers and Black activists gripped the South African town of Senekal on Friday as two men accused of killing a White farm manager were to appear in court.

More than 100 police officers patrolled the area in front of the courthouse in Free State province and used barbed wire to separate the rival groups.

Sekwetjie Mahlamba and Sekola Matlaletsa appeared in the magistrates' court on charges of killing Brendin Horner, 21, on



Pro-democracy protesters push back at riot police as they fire water cannons in Thailand's capital, Bangkok. Protests persisted Friday in defiance of an emergency decree, with activists seeking the prime minister's removal, limits on the king's power and new elections.

Oct. 1. Their request for bail was postponed until Tuesday.

About 250 White farmers gathered to protest the killing, saying police do not adequately protect White farmers. In a hearing last week, a group of White farmers stormed the court and burned a police vehicle.

The Economic Freedom Fighters, a leftist opposition party, mobilized about 1,000 of its supporters to challenge the White farmers in front of the court. They shouted slogans calling for South Africa's land to be returned to Black residents.

— Associated Press

Europeans condemn Israeli settlement plans: Israel's plans to advance the building of thousands of settlement units in the occupied West Bank drew European condemnation as approvals for constructions hit a record high in 2020. A joint statement by foreign ministry representatives for Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain warned that the building perpetuates the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and further threatens the viability of a two-state solution. The warning came after Israel on Thursday pressed forward on plans for more than 3,000 West Bank settlement homes. The Palestinians claim all of the West Bank, captured by Israel in the 1967 Middle East war, as part of a future independent state.

Turkey detains man suspected of spying for UAE: Turkish intelligence has arrested a man suspected of spying on Arab dissidents in Turkey on behalf of the United Arab Emirates, a senior Turkish government official said. The suspect, who has not been identified, allegedly infiltrated expatriate Arab dissident and journalist groups

in Turkey, the official said. The man traveled to Turkey using the passport of an Arab country other than that of the UAE. He confessed to the accusations of spying and "provided a trove of documents" proving his affiliation with the UAE intelligence, said the official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity in line with Turkish government protocol.

Berlin court suspends bar curfew: A Berlin court suspended a late-night curfew on bars and restaurants, following other courts in overturning government-imposed measures meant to contain the spread of the coronavirus. Berlin imposed the 11 p.m.-to-6 a.m. curfew a week ago to tackle surging new infections. The court said there was no evidence that bars and restaurants that comply with existing rules on mask-wearing and social distancing contributed to any increase in infection rates. The ruling was in response to legal action brought by 11 restaurant owners.

— From news services

Bolivian election to be test for socialism, and democracy

Many fear results in bitter presidential contest could spark violence

BY MONICA MACHICAO AND ANTHONY FAIOLA

LA PAZ, BOLIVIA — Half a century after the execution of leftist firebrand Ernesto “Che” Guevara in the Bolivian jungle, the forces of the political right and left are once again waging ideological war in this impoverished Andean nation.

Bolivia is heading toward a bitterly disputed presidential vote Sunday, the outcome of which could spark violence regardless of the winner. The vote pits the socialists of Evo Morales, who ran the country for 13 years before he fled it last year, against rivals who are laboring to thwart their return to power. Each side claims that the other is planning to cheat to win, setting up a tense day of voting that could serve as the start of a prolonged struggle for the presidential sash.

The result could have broad implications across the region. Bolivian elections are seen as a referendum on Latin American socialism and a gauge of the strength of democracy in a part of the world that has grown increasingly disillusioned with it.

Perhaps more than anything, Bolivia presents a window into a deeply polarized society, where elections are fought in ugly, threatening language and waged with seemingly existential stakes.

“In a way, it’s very similar to the U.S. presidential race,” said Diego von Vacano, a political analyst who provided informal advice to the campaign of socialist front-runner Luis Arce. “Bolivia and the United States are very different in terms of development and democracy, but in terms of polarization, and rival claims of fraud ahead of the vote, they are now in comparable situations.”

The special election to choose a permanent successor to Morales was delayed several times amid Bolivia’s coronavirus outbreak.

Arce, a 57-year-old economist, is trying to reclaim the Bolivian presidency for Morales’s Movement Toward Socialism, or MAS. Arce’s main opponents, the centrist former president Carlos Mesa, 67, and right-wing nationalist Luis Fernando Camacho, 41, have embraced a common refrain: For the good of Bolivia’s future,



An elections worker checks boxes of voting materials Friday in La Paz. Sunday’s election pits the socialists of ousted president Evo Morales against rivals who want to thwart the party’s return to power. The result could have broad implications for politics across Latin America.

the socialists must be stopped.

“This is a vote that has to do with democratic consciousness,” Mesa said this week on Bolivian television. “I have one adversary. The country has one adversary that must be defeated democratically at that the ballot box. The Movement Toward Socialism.”

Nevertheless, polls suggest the socialists remain the most popular political force in Bolivia, if not quite as popular as they once were. Morales, a larger-than-life figure long viewed as a standard-bearer of the Latin American left, won reelection in 2009, for instance, with 62 percent of the vote. A major opinion poll recently showed the socialists well below that level. But Arce still appears close to the threshold for a first-round win: 40 percent of the vote with a 10-point margin of victory.

If no candidate meets that bar on Sunday — Mesa has claimed that internal polls show him flirting with a first-round victory, too — the race goes to a runoff next month. Polls suggest a second round would almost surely pit Arce against Mesa, who would

probably have the edge as a divided opposition potentially coalesces around him.

The big question is whether cool heads will prevail as ballots are cast and counted on Sunday. Last year’s vote was marred by violence. Morales, who was seeking a controversial fourth term, appeared to be headed to a narrow first-round victory when the Organization of American States reported serious irregularities. Clashes between Morales’s supporters and opponents intensified, the police and military withdrew their support, and he fled into exile, decrying a “coup.”

Analyses published by The Washington Post and the New York Times have since cast doubt on the OAS findings. But a subsequent report by the European Union also noted “errors and irregularities” in the vote.

Morales has been barred from running on Sunday. Now in Argentina, he’s been the MAS campaign manager.

Arce suggested that his opponents were orchestrating a plan to stop him from winning in the first

round. He decried the return of OAS observers as an “offense to the Bolivian people.”

The OAS did not respond to a request for comment.

“We are already predicting the attitude of the losing right-wing parties,” Arce told The Post. “They are going to say that there will be a second round, when there will be no second round. We are clear on that.”

Suggestions by socialist militants that they will take to the streets if Arce fails to win in the first round have fanned concern of a replay of last year’s violence — as have fears that right-wing paramilitary groups may seek to do the same.

“I feel panic,” said Valeria Soruco, 37, who joined anti-Morales demonstrations in La Paz last year. She said she saw socialist supporters attack the home of her neighbor Waldo Albarracín, a Morales critic and human rights activist. “I am sure that MAS is not going to remain calm. They will come with force to exterminate those who are against them.”

Morales’s ouster brought to power the U.S.-backed interim president Jeanine Áñez and her influential interior minister, Arturo Murillo. Áñez initially pledged to be a caretaker whose role would be limited to setting new elections. Then she sought a full term. She finally withdrew her candidacy last month amid dismal poll numbers, due in part to what many Bolivians view as her government’s botched response to the coronavirus crisis.

Murillo traveled to Washington last month for discussions with U.S. officials that he said were about “defending” Bolivian democracy. The statement raised alarm bells among some of Arce’s supporters, who see the Trump administration as no friend of the socialists.

A senior State Department official said the discussions involved a range of topics, including the elections and support for Bolivian requests with the International Monetary Fund. The official said the United States was prepared to work with Arce if he wins “democratically.”

“We are open to work with who-

Arrest casts shadow over U.S.-Mexico war on drugs

MEXICO FROM A1

ney, Duane Lyons, did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

Cienfuegos’s arrest has raised the startling possibility that top Mexican security officials have quietly been working with traffickers during most of the U.S.-backed offensive against the cartels that began in 2006.

The public security minister in the first six years of that effort, Genaro García Luna, is awaiting trial in New York. He has pleaded not guilty to charges of accepting bribes to help the Sinaloa cartel.

Cienfuegos served as defense minister in the next administration, that of President Enrique Peña Nieto, from 2012 to 2018. He is accused of working with a group known as H-2, an offshoot of the Beltrán Leyva Cartel. It operated mainly in the western states of Sinaloa and Nayarit.

The court documents lay out a devastating picture of a senior official who, prosecutors say, used his power to help a drug cartel at every turn. Cienfuegos ensured that the Mexican military did not carry out operations against H-2 but instead focused on its rivals, the documents say. He is accused of finding ships for the cartel’s drugs. Cienfuegos even tipped off H-2 about the fact that it was under investigation by U.S. law enforcement, according to the documents.

Using that knowledge, H-2 killed one of its own members, a person who senior cartel leadership “incorrectly believed” was assisting U.S. officials, according to the allegations.

The former minister’s actions were detailed in thousands of BlackBerry messages he sent and were corroborated by witness accounts, the documents say. He did not immediately enter a plea. He faces a mandatory minimum sentence of 10 years on drug conspiracy charges if found guilty.



Gen. Salvador Cienfuegos gestures as then-U.S. Defense Secretary Jim Mattis listens during a reception in Mexico City in 2017.

Mexico’s governments have increasingly turned to the armed forces to take on criminal organizations because of persistent corruption in the police. Cienfuegos’s detention was a bombshell in Mexico, where the military is one of the most trusted institutions.

“We are facing an unprecedented situation,” President Andrés Manuel López Obrador said at his daily news conference Friday, referring to the detentions of the two former ministers. “This is an undeniable sign of the decomposition of the regime.”

Since 2007, the U.S. government has provided Mexico with about \$3 billion in security and justice aid through the Merida Initiative. Yet the country remains the No. 1 source of heroin and methamphetamine reaching the United States and a major corridor for cocaine and fentanyl.

The Trump administration recently warned that unless it shows progress, “Mexico will be at serious risk of being found to have failed” to meet its international drug-control commitments. It called for more efforts to dismantle drug organizations and crack down on fentanyl production.

Corruption in Mexico’s armed forces has typically been construed as an issue of individuals, rather than the institutions, said Adam Isacson, a security analyst at the Washington Office on Latin America. But the arrest of Cienfuegos seems to point to a web of corruption that “goes all the way up” to the top of the military, he said.

U.S. and Mexican security experts said Cienfuegos was general-

ly regarded as an honest professional. The arrest “really does come as a shock for those who knew and worked with him,” said Roderic Camp, a professor emeritus at Claremont McKenna College who has written two books on Mexico’s military.

The defense chief even received an award from the Pentagon’s Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies in 2018, the year he retired.

Cienfuegos was a different person in private, according to the depiction of him by prosecutors.

He was known as “El Padrino” — the Godfather — the documents say. He received bribes and helped recruit other Mexican officials for H-2, the records say. He talked about having previously worked for a different drug-trafficking group, according to the documents, which did not elaborate.

The minister oversaw the army and air force. U.S. anti-drug agencies have worked regularly with those forces but carried out many of their most sensitive operations with the navy, part of a separate ministry. Mexico’s marines had been embroiled in a years-long war with H-2.

The documents say Cienfuegos helped the cartel from December 2015 to February 2017. That month, the leader of H-2, Juan Francisco Patrón Sánchez, was gunned down by Mexican marines.

López Obrador has criticized the military-led “war on drugs,” which is widely associated with a soaring number of homicides in recent years. Nonetheless, he has called on the armed forces for an increasing number of tasks, in-

cluding building an airport and distributing medical supplies.

The president said that anyone implicated in Cienfuegos’s case who is serving in the government would be suspended, retired or investigated. “We are not going to cover up for anyone,” he said.

López Obrador declined to speculate on the guilt of Cienfuegos, noting that he had not seen the evidence. He instead lauded his handpicked military leaders for their integrity.

“Most of those who are part of these institutions are honest Mexicans,” he said.

López Obrador said his government heard of the U.S. probe only two weeks ago, from his ambassador in Washington, Martha Bárcena.

Analysts said the arrest had undoubtedly created unease in the military. Numerous senior officials were promoted by Cienfuegos. And his case could lead to other detentions. “To do these crimes, you need the participation of other people,” said Ricardo Márquez Blas, a former Mexican security official.

Still, many people in Mexico’s military and government circles remained skeptical of the accusations against Cienfuegos, and some said his arrest could threaten to erode cooperation between the two countries.

Raúl Benítez-Manaut, a professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico who specializes in national security, said the first instinct of military officers and their allies will be to blame the U.S. government and cast doubt on the allegations.

“Inside the military, you have some talking about how we cannot trust the U.S. because we cooperated with them in this fight against drugs and crime and now they are accusing our leaders,” Benítez-Manaut said.

There was no immediate reaction to Cienfuegos’s arrest by former president Peña Nieto. Felipe Calderón, who was president from 2006 to 2012, said he had no idea García Luna might have been involved in organized crime.

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New Zealand’s Ardern is expected to win big

Polls heavily favor party of prime minister praised for coronavirus response

BY EMMANUEL STOAKES

CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND — New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern waited for the verdict of voters with polls predicting a runaway victory after widespread praise for leading a successful battle against the coronavirus pandemic.

The main question in Saturday’s election was whether Ardern’s Labour Party would win big enough to gain control of parliament without needing a coalition partner. Among the challenges for the next government: an economy severely wracked by the pandemic and loss of critical tourism revenue.

Voters, however, appeared more willing to reward Ardern for her handling of the pandemic than punish her for its blow to the economy. A poll Friday showed Labour with 46 percent, far ahead of the opposition National Party at 31 percent.

Her government’s response to outbreaks of the coronavirus — including some of the strictest lockdowns and border controls in the world — is attributed to achieving some of the lowest death rates in the world with just 25 recorded fatalities.

The election, originally scheduled for last month, was delayed by Ardern because of the coronavirus fight.

Ardern faced another unprecedented test last year after a gunman opened fire at two Christchurch mosques, claiming 51 lives. Her outreach to the Muslim community and backing of a bill that banned most assault-style weapons was applauded by many in New Zealand and brought her global recognition.

Her embrace of international cooperation and pan-national

ever wins the elections,” said the official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity under the ground rules of a briefing.

The Áñez government and its supporters fear retribution if the socialists win.

In the aftermath of Morales’s exile, Áñez presided over a wave of repression that led to the detention of hundreds of leftists, the muzzling of journalists and a “national pacification” campaign that left at least 31 people dead, according to Bolivia’s national ombudsman and human rights groups.

Arce said he would not seek to influence the courts if he wins. But he said his opponents are aiming to prevent his victory to avoid being held to account. He said he worries that election officials will declare a second round before slow-arriving votes are counted from the rural areas, considered socialist strongholds.

“They want a coverup . . . the murders, the acts of corruption that have occurred in this government,” Arce said. “There is clearly an intention to make a pact for impunity.”

Rising political tensions have made this election different from almost any other here since the restoration of democracy 38 years ago. Right-wing paramilitary groups are accused of attacking socialists; leftists are accused of wounding government supporters.

Morales, who presided over a region-leading reduction in poverty during his 13-year tenure but became increasingly authoritarian as he clung to power in his final years, looms over the race. Arce, who was his finance minister, has sought to distance himself from his former boss, who, for all his fiery rhetoric, adopted a brand of business-friendly socialism that was a far cry from Guevara’s calls for a Marxist revolution. Arce has insisted that Morales would need to face legal charges brought by the interim government if he returns, but his opponents say the socialist campaign is a ruse to pave the way for his return.

“Nobody cares who the presidential candidate is,” Fernando Salazar, a sociologist at the Universidad Mayor de San Simón in Cochabamba. “This is about Evo coming back and taking power. And if they don’t achieve their goal, Bolivia is heading for civil war.”

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Faiola reported from Miami.

issues, including climate change, earned her the nickname “the anti-Trump” among her supporters.

Despite Ardern’s star power, landslide victories are a rarity under New Zealand’s proportional representation system that delivers parliament seats to any party taking more than 5 percent of the popular vote. That may force Labour into a power-sharing agreement with the Green Party, showing between 6 percent and 8 percent in pre-election polling.

During campaigning, Judith Collins, Ardern’s rival who heads the center-right National Party, repeatedly sought to promote her credentials as a business-friendly leader better placed to return growth to the country’s pandemic-battered economy, invoking the prospect of a left-wing coalition stalling recovery.

Early results are expected hours after polls close 7 p.m. Saturday, or 2 a.m. on the U.S. East Coast.

New Zealand’s recession may be more protracted and severe than that which followed the global financial crash, with Ardern’s lockdown contributing to a GDP contraction of 12.2 percent between April and June, and more bad news expected over coming months.

But more is on the ballot Saturday than who gets to run the country.

The election also includes two referendum questions concerning the legalization of cannabis and whether to permit “assisted dying” when requested, under certain conditions, by the terminally ill. If both pass, New Zealand will follow in the footsteps of Canada and some European states, although polling suggests a close contest on either issue.

Record levels of advance voting have occurred despite the relative lack of coronavirus worries. More than 1.7 million people — roughly half the electorate — voted early since Oct. 3.

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PHOTOS BY DANIELA RIVERA ANTARA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Remote learning leaving poor children behind

EDUCATION FROM AI

Some families can afford workarounds. Students from families wealthy enough to pay for private schools have kept their educations going with private tutors and interactive classes on home computers. Public-school students with Internet access at home can access extended lessons online.

Missael has none of that. The son of a single father of four who lost his job during the pandemic, Missael has seen his education reduced to a 30-minute lesson broadcast on state TV and phone texts containing brief instructions for the next day's self-study. He submits assignments to be graded through his family's one cellphone.

From the Andes to Africa to the United States, this is what falling through the cracks looks like: a pandemic generation of poor children shut out of schools and learning. Already disadvantaged by poverty and inequity, they are now in danger of falling further behind.

Globally, roughly a third of the world's schoolchildren, or nearly 600 million, remain affected by pandemic-related school closures, according to UNICEF, the United Nations agency responsible for aid to children. Some 463 million children worldwide, UNICEF estimates, lacking Internet, television or radio, have been left with almost no access to education.

"We are seeing very real disparities between those children able to access remote learning, and poor children, children in rural areas, adolescent girls and disabled children who just don't have equal access," said Robert Jenkins, UNICEF's education chief.

In Peru, a massive wave of unemployment is reversing the nation's lauded success at fighting poverty, with consequences that could last generations. The number of people living below the poverty line here is expected to surge this year to 27 percent, a level not seen since the early 2000s.

Low-income Peruvians have been hit disproportionately, raising fears of further inequality in a region already among the most unequal in the world. Already, more poor children are leaving school: The national high school dropout rate surged from 11.8 percent in 2019 to 17.9 percent this year. The rate for university students jumped from 12 percent to 19 percent. Analysts fear a mass desertion next year, led by poor students unable to fully access virtual education.

Part of the problem: Peru is trying to do remote learning in a country where only 1 in 3 households has a home computer.

"The state needs to get its act

together, because we cannot allow education to go from being a right to becoming a luxury," said Ernesto Mosquera, principal at the Colegio Independencia, a private school in Lima's upscale Miraflores district.

The Peruvian government is acquiring 1 million tablet computers for children in rural and poor urban areas. The 2021 budget includes money to pay for Internet access for more than 500,000 students and at least 50,000 teachers. The Education Ministry's goal is for the country's 18,000 schools

TOP: A laundry line with two masks overlooking Lima, Peru. MIDDLE: Shiori, 10, and her sister, Paola, 2, have not been able to take online classes since the only cellphone they owned stopped working three months ago. ABOVE: The bedroom of Fabiana Bustamante, 8, who uses her mother's laptop for school.

to be connected to the Internet by March 2021.

"We will return to the classroom," said Cecilia Ramírez, head of basic education for Peru's Education Ministry. "But distance learning is going to be a big part of the learning environment going forward."

Inside her family's roomy apartment, outfitted with a roof deck overlooking one of Lima's few golf courses, Valentina Bustamante, 14, is taking an average of six classes a day, starting at 9 a.m. and ending at 4 p.m. — her pre-

coronavirus schedule, basically, but on a laptop.

Her private school, the multilingual, International Baccalaureate-affiliated Euroamerican College, has created a rich, computer-based learning environment. Students are encouraged to engage online, raising "virtual hands" to ask questions. If she needs more help, teachers are available for consultation and tutoring after classes, and students have formed breakout groups online to compare notes. Her mother, a technology company executive now working from home, is also available for support.

"I felt much freer when we were in school, but I am coping," Valentina said.

Across town in the Cristo de Pachacamilla slum, Missael is also stuck inside.

That's where the similarities end.

Missael's difficulties are echoed throughout Lima's poorer districts. In the neighboring Villa María del Triunfo district, 13-year-old cousins Fabrizio Ccapcha and Benjamin Trujillo take turns using the family phone to read lessons and do homework. If they need hard copies of assignments for, say, math or reading, they trudge down a rocky embankment and pay the equivalent of a penny to print, Fabrizio said.

The hardest part, they said, is getting an adult to accompany them. Under the current curfew, 13-year-olds aren't allowed to leave home on their own.

"Math is hard for me, and asking questions in a text does not help," Fabrizio said. "There are times when I just don't get it."

Missael stared down at his small house's painted cement floor. Twenty-three hours a day, he's home with his two sisters, 17 and 9, and his brother, 5.

"I miss my school," he said.

He misses his friends, his teacher and real-time feedback on his work.

"I am trying to follow the classes by myself, but it is very hard," said the shy sixth-grader, who is days behind in his assignments. "I ask my father and sister when I have questions, but it's not the same."

These days, he said, math is easiest, because he can write out equations, snap a photo and send it to his teacher via WhatsApp. But writing assignments are killers. He reads assignments on the phone, takes notes, writes out essays, then types them on the family cellphone's tiny keypad.

"I only get to use the phone when my dad comes home, and sometimes that's late at night," he said. "My teacher has complained, but I don't have any other way to do it."

His school offered free textbooks, but his father said he "did not have time" to pick them up. So Missael relies on his older sister's old books, most of which are outdated. He gets some feedback by text from his teacher, but the responses are usually short.

Peruvian education authorities say grades, at this point, are less important than making the effort to participate. Children, once assessed on a curve, now are graded pass-fail.

Missael has access to the government's distance learning program, "I Learn at Home," a 30-minute televised class for each grade. He watches at noon. His siblings watch their grades before and after him.

Sometimes the content is difficult to follow, he said, but that's not the only challenge. Even in the capital, the signal from the public station is spotty and often flickers out. He sometimes climbs on the roof to shift the antennae and improve reception.

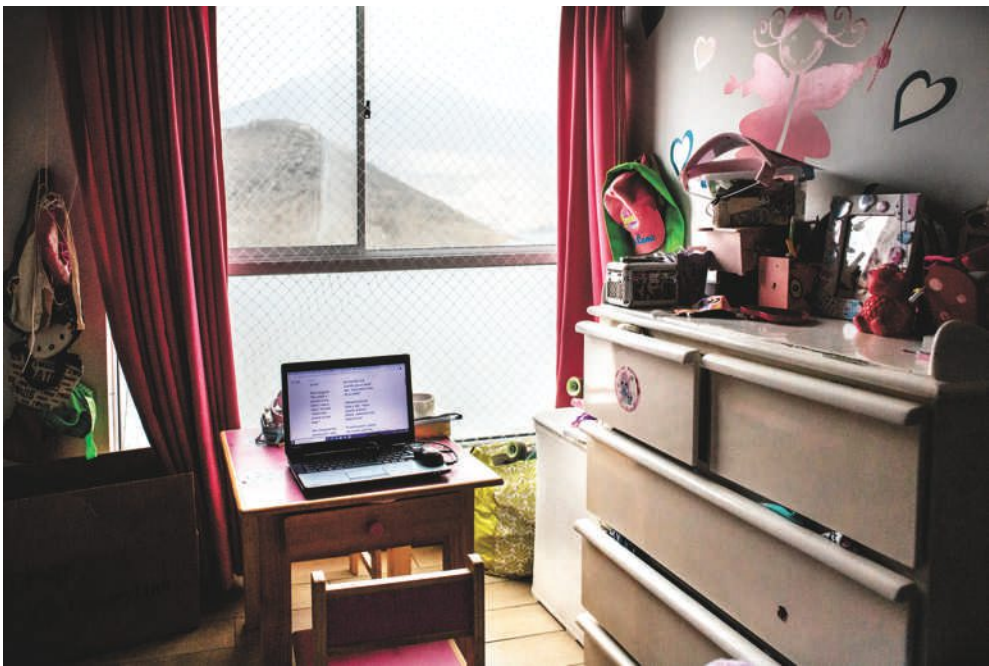
His father said he recognizes the hardships of learning for his children. But as a single dad out of work, he said he's struggling to even feed them, leaving little room for anything else.

If school does not reopen next year, Luis Alberto Soayne said, he fears his son may join the growing ranks of dropouts.

"I want what is best for my children," he said. "But right now there are not many choices. I don't know if he'll want to continue if schools do not reopen."

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Faiola reported from Miami.



Coming Up This Week



MON. OCT. 19 AT 11:00 A.M.

Coronavirus: Tracking COVID-19
Vaughn Cooper, PhD, Evolutionary Microbiologist, University of Pittsburgh
Vin Gupta, MD, Pulmonologist & Global Health Policy Expert
In conversation with Robert Costa



TUES. OCT. 20 AT 9:30 A.M.

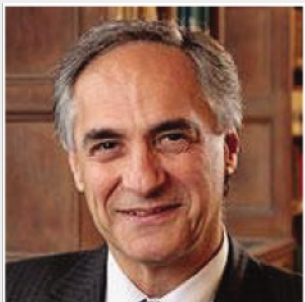
Coronavirus: Leadership During Crisis
Katrín Jakobsdóttir, Prime Minister of Iceland
In conversation with David Ignatius



TUES. OCT. 20 AT 2:00 P.M.

Race in America: Creating Change
Alicia Garza, Co-Founder, Black Lives Matter &
Author, “The Purpose of Power: How We Come Together When We Fall Apart”
In conversation with Robin Givhan

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH



WED. OCT. 21 AT 2:00 P.M.

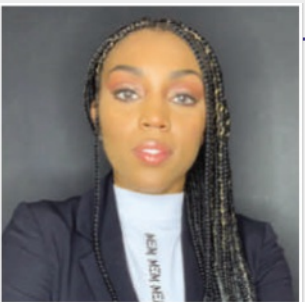
Free to State: The New Free Speech
Robert J. Zimmer, President, University of Chicago
In conversation with Michael Duffy

PRESENTING SPONSOR



THURS. OCT. 22 AT 9:30 A.M.

A Conversation with John O. Brennan
Former CIA Director &
Author of “Undaunted: My Fight Against America’s Enemies, at Home and Abroad”
In conversation with David Ignatius



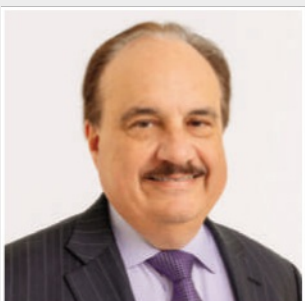
THURS. OCT. 22 AT 1:30 P.M.

Race in America: Athletes & Activism
Renee Montgomery, WNBA Champion & Activist
In conversation with Jonathan Capehart



FRI. OCT. 23 AT 9:00 A.M.

First Look
Jonathan Capehart, Opinions Writer, The Washington Post



FRI. OCT. 23 AT 12:00 P.M.

The Path Forward: The Future of Health Care
Larry Merlo, President & CEO, CVS Health
In conversation with David Ignatius

To watch upcoming events and last week’s interviews including Former Massachusetts Governor **Deval Patrick**, Robin Hood Foundation CEO **Wes Moore**, and more, visit [WashingtonPostLive.com](https://www.washingtonpostlive.com)

Russia’s regional muscle tested with unrest on all sides

Putin’s clout in former Soviet world has shown signs of weakening

BY ISABELLE KHURSHUDYAN

MOSCOW — The cease-fire talks lasted 11 hours, dragging past 2 a.m. in Moscow — what Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov called “an all-nighter.”

But what started as a triumph for the Kremlin last week — getting Armenia and Azerbaijan to discuss ending renewed fighting in the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave — turned into a muddle as clashes flared within hours of the deal.

It also revealed the limits of Russia’s ability to shape events in what the Kremlin considers its backyard: the former Soviet republics and regions from Central Asia, through the Caucasus and into Eastern Europe.

Each point of the map these days offers another test for Moscow.

To the south, the three-decade-old conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan has reignited. To the west, protests calling for Belarusian strongman Alexander Lukashenko’s ouster are well into their second month. And to the east, Kyrgyzstan is facing its third political crisis in 15 years after recent parliamentary election results were annulled.

As Russia’s interests abroad have focused on building the country’s standing as a player on the global stage — including malicious operations such as trying to influence U.S. presidential elections — the Kremlin’s grip has weakened closer to home. Competition from Turkey, China and the West is increasingly challenging Moscow’s onetime dominance in the former Soviet space.

“Russia is not the dominant power in any of the regions of the former Soviet Union,” said Dmitri

Trenin, director of the Carnegie Moscow Center.

The current trio of upheavals, he added, “really shed light on the situation.”

Moscow’s diminished foothold in what it considers “near abroad” could pose other jitters for President Vladimir Putin and the promise of stability he often touts to Russians.

The street protests and political upheavals in Belarus and Kyrgyzstan, in particular, could rattle the Kremlin, analysts say. The worry is that they could embolden Russia’s anti-Putin factions — which are already angered over the nerve-agent poisoning of opposition leader Alexei Navalny in August.

Tussle with Turkey

Russia has tread a delicate diplomatic line between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which have been engaged in fighting since September in a conflict that stretches back to the Soviet era.

Though Russia is treaty-bound to protect Armenia, Putin last week clarified that Russia’s military obligations extend only to attacks on Armenia proper and not to Nagorno-Karabakh, a pro-Armenian breakaway region within Azerbaijan’s borders.

On Wednesday, Azerbaijan acknowledged striking a complex with military hardware in Armenia — an escalation that threatens to break Moscow’s so-far neutral stance.

Later in the day, Putin spoke with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan by phone, and the two leaders “stressed the urgent need for joint efforts to end the bloodshed as soon as possible and move to a peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem,” according to a Kremlin readout of the call — their first since this round of fighting erupted.

Though Russia has an alliance with Armenia, pro-Russian groups have been losing ground in Armenia since a 2018 revolu-

Political discontent in Russia’s former Soviet territory



tion led to a leadership change. The political shift has stoked fears in Moscow that Armenia is steadily turning to the West, the center of its vast and politically active diaspora.

Turkey has thrown its full support behind Azerbaijan in the conflict. Turkish involvement also threatens Russia’s main interests in the region: the arrival of Syrian mercenaries to fight on behalf of Azerbaijan, something Russia’s foreign intelligence chief, Sergei Naryshkin, has warned could become a launchpad for Islamist militants to enter Russia.

Russia and Turkey are already on opposite sides of two other proxy wars, in Syria and Libya.

Trenin rejected the notion that the Kremlin might have stretched itself thin with its ambitious foreign policy agenda, but “it certainly has to pay more attention to its neighborhood now, more attention to its alliances.”

In an op-ed for Russia’s independent Novaya Gazeta newspaper, military analyst Pavel Felgenhauer wrote that “Putin wanted to play the role of peacemaker” with Nagorno-Karabakh and “also demonstrate weight and influence in the post-Soviet space.”

“It didn’t work out very well,” Felgenhauer continued.

Belarus conundrum

There are few places more locked into Moscow’s orbit than Belarus.

Putin has publicly backed the embattled Lukashenko, probably seeing the longtime ruler as a more secure way to keep Minsk looking toward Moscow.

At the same time, opposition leader Svetlana Tikhonovskaya is building ties with Western leaders, including Germany’s Angela

Merkel and France’s Emmanuel Macron.

Mass protests continue to decry Lukashenko’s official landslide victory as rigged. Putin has left the door open for Russian intervention if, he said in late August, the “situation gets out of control.”

The reason goes beyond the alliance with Lukashenko. Russia does not want to see another revolution succeed so close to Moscow — already stung by a 2014 political uprising in Ukraine that ousted pro-Russian leader Viktor Yanukovich.

In Russia’s Far East region of Khabarovsk, the scene of ongoing protests over the arrest of a popular governor, demonstrators have often expressed solidarity with the Belarusian opposition. According to a poll from the independent Levada Center this month, 63 percent of Russians said that they were aware of the protests in Belarus and 28 percent responded that they were playing close attention to them.

“The people in Belarus are very close to the people in Russia — basically you have the same language and very much the same culture,” Carnegie’s Trenin said.

“So I think that on that score, people in the Kremlin are looking very closely at the techniques used by the organizers of those demonstrations,” he added. “They’re studying it very, very closely because they believe something like that could be used, will be used, in Russia when the situation is appropriate.”

On Tuesday, Tikhonovskaya issued what she said was a “people’s ultimatum,” releasing a statement demanding that Lukashenko resign by Oct. 25 or else “a nationwide strike will begin at all enterprises, all roads will be blocked, and sales at state stores will collapse.”

‘Chaotic’ Kyrgyzstan

Kyrgyzstan was cleaved into rival political sides after disputed

Oct. 9 parliamentary elections. Opposition forces broke into the parliamentary building in the capital, Bishkek, and seized several other government buildings, leaving the country in a duel for leadership. The election results were annulled.

The Kremlin described the situation as “chaotic” last week. But Moscow’s attempts to help stabilize the upheaval in Kyrgyzstan also fell short.

Alexander Bortnikov, director of Russia’s Federal Security Service, or FSB, spoke with Kyrgyz Security Council Secretary Omurbek Suvanaliev by phone last week. But the next day, Suvanaliev was removed from the post.

Then on Thursday, pro-Russian president Sooronbay Jeenbekov announced his resignation, creating even more confusion for Moscow. Lavrov, Russia’s foreign minister, quickly arranged a call with Kyrgyzstan’s new foreign minister, Ruslan Kazakbayev.

Lavrov “voiced his concern about the development of the domestic political situation” and said Russia is willing to work with “legitimate Kyrgyz government bodies,” the Russian Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

Kyrgyzstan, which has the highest percentage of Russian speakers among Central Asian countries, hosts a Russian military base but is also heavily reliant on Chinese investment.

Arkady Dubnov, a political analyst and expert on Central Asia, said that “Russia’s influence there remains extremely high.” But Russia has suspended providing financial support to Bishkek until the situation stabilizes, according to Russian news outlet RBC, citing an unnamed official in Russia’s Finance Ministry.

“The new post-Soviet generation does not suffer from nostalgia for the Soviet times and does not consider Moscow a political trendsetter,” Dubnov said.

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Pandemic closes taps at Northern Ireland pubs

BY AMANDA FERGUSON

BELFAST — Bittles, a destination whiskey bar in the center of this city, was firebombed during the decades of sectarian violence known as the Troubles.

Proprietor John Bittles recalls being warned by police that he should get a weapon to protect himself, that militants might show up ready for a shooting.

The coronavirus era, he said, has been worse.

“This stuff with covid has actually had a bigger detrimental effect than all that there,” said Bittles, 59. “Maybe it’s because I was younger and it went over my head, but this here is completely unprecedented times.”

The roughly 1,200 pubs of Northern Ireland were forced to close on Friday, again, to beat back the coronavirus. They will remain shuttered for at least a month, part of a “circuit breaker” to limit social contact and slow transmission. Schools will be closed for an extended half-term break, as well.

It is possible the 7,000 pubs in the Republic of Ireland could follow, as health officials there recommended Friday that the country move to Level 5 measures, the most strict.

The new restrictions are a heavy blow to establishments already bruised by a spring lockdown and the social distancing measures they’ve had to incorporate since. But as pub-goers in Belfast nursed their last drinks this past week, the conversation was less about finances than about the loss of a central part of cultural life.

“The pub to me is home, really,” said flame-haired and tattoo-emblazoned Ollie Woodhouse, 24, sitting in the Sunflower, a pub popular with the arts and media crowd, the LGBT community, tradespeople, hipsters, hospitality workers — with everyone really.

Suzanne Magee, 32, a manager at the Sunflower, said she is “devastated” by the closure.

Pubs in Northern Ireland aren’t mere boozers, but way stations. For many living alone, including the elderly, the establishments can be a point of social contact, as vital as a daily stop at the rural post office or the church. It’s where people share life stories, bond, sing ballads and “have relief,” Magee said.

“It’s not all about getting pissed,” said Magee, using the



PHOTOS BY CHARLES MCQUILLAN/GETTY IMAGES



ABOVE: A customer sits this week outside Bittles, a bar in Belfast. LEFT: Pedro Donald, owner of the pub the American, calls the drinking establishments essential for residents. “This is an old-school public house,” he says. “I love that term, public house.”

house, I love that term, public house,” Donald said. “It is somewhere you meet people, be it a business meeting, be it someone catching up, be it someone home for Christmas.”

When pubs had to close earlier this year for a few months, it was a bit of a novelty, he said, as people got a break during the lockdown to reflect on life, and it provided an opportunity for publicans to get done things they had been putting off.

“This time is going to be harder,” Donald said.

Bittles said that during the spring lockdown, he still came to the bar every day and pulled the shutters up — for his own mental health.

His unusual flatiron building on Upper Church Lane is adorned with images of famous Irish writers and political artwork, and it has a traditional Cead Mile Failte (Irish language for a hundred thousand welcomes) sign above its tiny bar.

The pub attracts tourists but is usually full of regulars, mostly men, who drink whiskey or Guinness. There is no food, sport or music, just patrons talking over pints.

Bittles knows them all. “They could drink at home, but they

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Sarkozy charged with ‘criminal association’

BY JAMES MCAULEY

PARIS — French prosecutors charged former president Nicolas Sarkozy with “criminal association” as part of an investigation into the financing of his 2007 presidential campaign, particularly its alleged ties to the government of then-Libyan dictator Moammar Gaddafi.

Although Sarkozy was charged in 2018 with corruption and embezzling funds from Libya, the new charges are a dramatic escalation — the most serious indictment a former head of state has faced in the history of France’s Fifth Republic, the governing system established in 1958.

Sarkozy denied any wrongdoing. “I learned of this new charge with the greatest stupefaction,” he said in a statement Friday. “The French must know that I am innocent of what I’m accused of. . . . I know the truth will triumph eventually.”

The specter of alleged Libyan ties clouded Sarkozy’s tenure in the Élysée Palace and has haunted him since he left the presidency after one term in 2012.

Friday’s “criminal association” charge breathes new life into the allegations that Sarkozy illegally secured millions of dollars in cash from the Gaddafi regime to fund his 2007 presidential bid.

The charges also raise new questions about Sarkozy’s motives in orchestrating the 2011 NATO operation against the Gaddafi government. Gaddafi’s regime was overthrown that year and he was captured and killed by opposition fighters.

The investigation into Sarkozy’s dealings was launched in the wake of an investigation by the French investigative outlet Mediapart in 2012.

Although the Sarkozy investigation remains ongoing, the former president will stand trial in late November on corruption charges. In what in France is known as the “eavesdropping affair,” he stands accused, along with his lawyer, of trying to illegally obtain classified information from a French judge.

Sarkozy will also stand trial in March and April 2021 on the charges of illegal campaign financing.

The former president’s legal problems extend further. In January, French magistrates also placed Thierry Gaubert, a former aide to Sarkozy, under formal investigation for criminal association.

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ECONOMY & BUSINESS

 DOW 28,606.31 UP 112.11, 0.4%	 NASDAQ 11,671.56 DOWN 42.31, 0.4%	 S&P 500 3,483.81 UP 0.47, 0.01%	 GOLD \$1,906.40 DOWN \$2.50, 0.1%	 CRUDE OIL \$40.88 DOWN \$0.08, 0.2%	 10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD 0.75% UP 2.1%	CURRENCIES \$1=105.40 YEN, 0.85 EUROS
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Film festivals take detour to drive-ins

As the coronavirus limits indoor entertainment, car-bound moviegoers flock to outdoor theaters

BY STEVEN ZEITCHIK

Last week, not long before her new film, “The 40-Year-Old Version,” would be released on Netflix, the director Radha Blank stood in front of a large audience to introduce her movie.

“I’ll see you later,” the filmmaker said after her thank-yous, invoking a common film-premiere trope in which creators cite a potential post-screening meeting with audience members. Then she appeared to rethink the idea. “Not really,” she said with a laugh.

No encounters would happen because the premiere wasn’t taking place in a screening room or theater. It was at a drive-in; Blank was talking to a sea of cars. She stood at the front of the lot, her image projected on a massive screen, her voice piped into attendees’ cars via FM radio. Audience members expressed their appreciation not by clapping but the best way they could — with a cacophonous round of honking.

Around the country in recent weeks, similar surreal scenes have been playing out. In large metro hubs, like New York and Los Angeles, but also smaller cities from Indiana to Maine, people are flocking to drive-in screenings of splashy new movies. The events are part of the fall festival circuit in which film distributors present new movies around the United States, the entertainment business’s equivalent of a barnstorming tour — only now they’ve been adapted for the pandemic.

These stand-alone events, pri-

marily at temporary facilities, tend to be a little more nimble and modern than the traditional drive-in, which is often located in a struggling urban area or a rural setting and has survived decades of declining business conditions. Those theaters — about 300 around the country — have seen a sales uptick during the pandemic but rely on wide studio releases, which have been in short supply.

The festival circuit’s movies also serve as a kind of analog to Joe Biden’s drive-in campaign events, like the CNN-hosted town hall last month.

The future of in-person entertainment can seem bleak. Most studios won’t release their major movies until next year. Broadway is closed until at least June. And concert tours are Zoom-only.

Yet drive-in gatherings have held out the coronavirus-era prospect that with a little ingenuity and several tons of protective steel, consumers can still leave their houses to be entertained. If the response to the pandemic has been dysfunctionally American, perhaps the solution, playing off a love of the automobile, can be quintessentially American.

Certainly, the demand exists. Over the past three weeks, New Yorkers packed makeshift venues in Queens, Brooklyn and the Bronx, showing just how much people right now want to consume entertainment with strangers, or at least seek respite from their spouses. Blank’s “The 40-Year-Old Version,” a semi-autobiographical story of a frustrated playwright who turns to hip-hop, would be released on Netflix



EVAN AGOSTINI/INVISION/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Filmgoers attend a screening of the new movie “Nomadland” on Sept. 26 at the Queens Drive-In as part of the New York Film Festival.

the day after its premiere. But that didn’t stop several hundred people from paying \$45 so they could sit next to other cars to see it.

Whether such acts are wise — whether drive-ins are a much-needed palliative for the endless couch watching or just another grim reminder of all covid-19 has taken — is a complicated question, and one the Blank visit argued for and against.

On a patch of grass astride the Grand Central Parkway, a screen had been set up. About a half-hour before showtime, at twilight, a road leading to it saw

headlights snaking single file, 50 vehicles long. A battalion of masked workers, some with airport-runway orange glow sticks, ran about, checking tickets and letting cars in a few at a time so they could sit on another portion of road before being allowed onto another road that would eventually lead to the patch. A commuter train rattled regularly overhead.

Upon finally reaching the scraggly patch, cars were greeted by a masked attendant who knocked on windows and reached in with bags of snacks. Another came by and took a food

order. Filmgoers at festival drive-ins may not be moving around much, but at least they’re well-fed.

The New York Film Festival normally holds its flagship events at Alice Tully Hall, a Pietro Belluschi-designed venue for 1,100 in Lincoln Center, which has played host to Itzhak Perlman, Yo-Yo Ma and other luminaries. The only lights here came from the planes landing at LaGuardia.

Eugene Hernandez, who runs the New York Film Festival, expressed how effective he believes these events can be.

“The drive-ins not only saved NYFF in 2020,” Hernandez said in an email, “[they] took the New York Film Festival to brand new audiences.”

He added, “I hope we’ve seen a glimpse of our future this year.”

As she tried to get the crowd excited that night in Queens, Blank acknowledged the strangeness.

“I want to thank you,” she said, “for braving the elements at this moment.” The audience honked, then settled in to watch the movie through the glow from their dashboards.

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FCC faces rebukes for push to rethink legal shield for social media giants

Democrats fear agency’s move is the result of White House pressure

BY TONY ROMM

A new effort by the Federal Communications Commission to rethink the legal shield that applies to social media sites drew widespread rebukes this week, as critics faulted the agency for reversing its past positions in the face of mounting public pressure from the White House.

The agency’s move threatens to strike at the heart of a critical federal law known as Section 230, which for decades has spared tech giants from being held accountable for the ways they police their platforms. Ajit Pai, the FCC’s Republican chairman, unveiled his plans to “clarify” the scope of those protections hours after Facebook and Twitter took the rare step of limiting the reach of a New York Post story about Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden and his family, angering President Trump and his top sup-

porters.

The FCC is an independent agency, and historically it has sought to emphasize its separation from the White House. But some critics still saw the FCC’s timing as politically peculiar.

Only a year ago, top FCC aides had told the Trump administration privately that they did not want to pursue regulation around online speech, according to four people with direct knowledge of the talks, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe confidential proceedings. The comments came as part of a series of conversations convened by the White House designed to explore potential regulation targeting Silicon Valley.

Pai himself had previously expressed opposition to new FCC regulation targeting social media sites. On Thursday, however, he set the agency on a path toward issuing new rules around Section 230, citing concerns shared by “all three branches of government” about the tech giants’ behavior.

“Social media companies have a First Amendment right to free speech,” said Pai, who tweeted his statement at 2:30 p.m. “But they do not have a First Amendment

right to a special immunity denied to other media outlets, such as newspapers and broadcasters.”

The FCC declined to comment. An agency official, speaking only on the condition of anonymity, stressed there had been no contact between the White House and the commission before Pai’s announcement. The official said that Pai’s position had remained consistent over time, since the action he is eyeing on Section 230 is not the same as direct regulation of online speech.

Judd Deere, a spokesman for the White House, said in a statement that the administration “has engaged on rule-making through appropriate channels that the President’s Executive Order calls for.”

The FCC’s maneuver quickly sent shock waves through Washington. Democrats blasted the agency, and the party’s senior-most official at the FCC raised the prospect of political interference.

“The timing of this effort is absurd,” said Commissioner Jessica Rosenworcel. “The only logical conclusion is that the agency is acting at the behest of the president to intimidate platforms in the late days of the campaign.

That’s not right. The FCC has no business being the president’s speech police.”

Some conservatives also pilloried the FCC for setting its policymaking process in motion. “Twitter and Facebook are dead wrong on this, though the First Amendment protects their right to be wrong,” said Jesse Blumenthal, who leads technology and innovation policy at Stand Together, a group backed by Charles Koch. “The answer to bad speech is more speech, not ineffective attempts to suppress information.”

Democrats and Republicans generally agree there is a need to rethink Section 230, which some critics say has come to shield the Web’s most popular, profitable sites and services from being held accountable for wrongdoing. But Democrats have sought to reform the law in an attempt to thwart harmful content, including political disinformation, from proliferating across the Web — while Republicans instead are motivated by allegations of political bias.

GOP lawmakers, led by Trump, for years have argued that Facebook, Google and Twitter systematically suppress conservative users and websites — presenting

only scattershot anecdotal evidence of their claims amid a flurry of denials from major tech companies. But they escalated their attacks this week, after Facebook limited the reach of the New York Post’s reports about the Biden family, the evidence for which purportedly had been gleaned from a laptop abandoned at a Delaware repair shop. Twitter, meanwhile, blocked users from sharing links to those stories. The White House and the Trump campaign blasted the tech giants for their decisions, and the president once again called for repealing Section 230.

“When government granted these protections,” Trump tweeted Thursday, “they created a monster!”

Pai’s announcement broke from his past public comments on the issue, according to experts. Asked at an August 2018 event about the FCC’s ability to police social media, for example, the chairman stressed that the agency “does not regulate them” and does not “have the authority under the laws that have been passed by Congress and the Constitution, of course, under the First Amendment.”

“So from that perspective, they are not going to be regulated in terms of free speech,” Pai continued, stressing that these tech companies should instead commit to transparency. He said consumers and competition otherwise would correct any ills: “If they want to focus on cats to the exclusion of dogs, ultimately, it’s a market that’s going to capitalize. There are a lot of dog owners out there who say it’s a step too far. . . and they’ll move to some other platform.”

“The government doesn’t have a role in solving every single ill that we identify on these platforms,” Pai said.

An FCC official, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said Pai embarked on the new policymaking process in response to recent events, including a statement this week from conservative Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, who appeared to invite efforts to challenge Section 230 and the immunity it confers on tech giants.

Pai’s critics, however, saw in the agency’s efforts the influence of months of Trump’s tweets, public statements and policy pronouncements.

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DIGEST

ECONOMY

Industrial production fell in September

U.S. industrial production fell 0.6 percent in September, the weakest showing since the spring and a sign that the economy’s recovery from the pandemic recession may be faltering just as novel coronavirus cases are again surging in much of the country.

The Federal Reserve reported Friday that industrial production suffered its first decline since a 12.7 percent drop in April amid the shutdowns of businesses that paralyzed the economy. The key category that reflects manufacturing output fell 0.3 percent. Meanwhile, mining output, which includes oil and gas exploration, fell 5.6 percent. Production at utilities rose 1.7 percent.

Last month’s reading on industrial production followed four straight months of increases that began in May after sharp declines in March and April. Industrial production has



NAVESH CHITRAKAR/REUTERS

Farmers harvest rice Friday at a field in Bhaktapur, Nepal, as part of World Food Day, which commemorates the creation of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization in 1945.

recovered more than half of its spring declines but remains 7.1 percent below its pre-pandemic level in February.

“Industrial output came in well below expectations, one of the first real signs that the recovery is

losing momentum under the weight of the ongoing health crisis and fading support from fiscal relief,” Oxford Economics said in a research note.

Production of motor vehicles and parts fell for a second

straight month, dropping 4 percent after a 4.3 percent decline in August, which had followed big increases after auto plants reopened.

The weaker-than-expected September showing may signal a slowdown in manufacturing, which had been a rare bright spot in the economy, that could hinder overall growth in coming months.

— Associated Press

CRYPTOCURRENCY

Bitcoin platform halts money withdrawals

Chinese police have launched an investigation linked to cryptocurrency exchange giant OKEx, forcing one of the world’s largest bitcoin trading platforms to block users globally from withdrawing money.

An unidentified staffer responsible for users’ private keys — accounts where crypto assets are stored — has been “out of touch” while cooperating with a police investigation, the Malta-based exchange said in a

statement Friday. As a result, the company has halted all cryptocurrency withdrawals and has not said when they will resume. OKEx founder Star Xu was the staffer taken away, Caixin reported, citing two unidentified sources at the firm.

“We are not at liberty to discuss any matters that are under investigation but can reveal that it is not related in any way to anti-money-laundering or to OKEx,” the company said in an emailed statement. It “would like to assure all OKEx users that their funds are safe.”

OKEx, one of the most active cryptocurrency spot and derivatives trading platforms alongside the likes of Binance and Huobi, did not elaborate on what prompted the police investigation or comment on Xu.

Beijing has in past years cracked down repeatedly on crypto-trading, fearing its highly speculative nature might turn destabilizing or erode China’s grip on monetary policy. Some of the industry’s most spectacular failures have begun with

suspensions of withdrawals, from the recent disappearance of \$400 million worth of tokens at Japan’s Coincheck to Mt. Gox’s 2014 implosion.

— Bloomberg News

ALSO IN BUSINESS

Facebook’s Instagram will change the way users post advertisements as part of a wider probe by the British competition watchdog to combat misleading online ads. Facebook has committed to this “important behavior shift” following an investigation by the Competition and Markets Authority, the regulator said in a statement Friday. The changes will make it “much harder” for users to post ads without labeling them as such. Instagram promised to prompt users “to confirm if they have been incentivized in any way to promote a product or service and, if so, require them to disclose this fact clearly,” the CMA said.

— From news services

Trump uses loophole to skirt rules

His account frequently re-shares posts in nontraditional ways

BY RACHEL LERMAN

SAN FRANCISCO — Twitter temporarily locked President Trump’s reelection campaign account this week for posting a tweet that violated the social media company’s policies. Trump shared the same video but retained access to his personal account.

The tweet, which shared a video targeting Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden over a New York Post article, also appeared at first glance to be directly from Trump’s handle. But instead, he shared a link from the campaign account’s video, probably by either using the company’s phone app or editing the code used to embed it. That technique is a loophole to a recognizable “retweet” tag most use to share others’ material.

The resulting tweet looks almost like an original post, save for a small tag at the bottom of the video that reads “From Team Trump.” Unlike a retweet or quote tweet, the original tweet’s format is lost when sharing this way, making it harder to spot that the content has been shared from another user.

Trump is famous for using his Twitter account as a primary form of communication with the general public. He has made many major announcements on the site to his 87 million followers, including when he announced he had tested positive for the coronavirus earlier this month. He also uses Twitter to directly communicate with his supporters and boost their calls of encouragement. He often tweets and retweets dozens of times each day.

Trump has tangled with Twitter and Facebook regularly over the past six months as the social media companies increasingly crack down on tweets that violate their policies. In response, Trump has lashed out at the companies for “censoring” him and threatened to try to repeal a law that protects them broadly from liability.

His tweets have been labeled numerous times — with fact checks for claims he made about mail-in ballots and for violating policies against manipulated media, among other issues.

However, he has so far apparently avoided more serious Twit-



LEAH MILLIS/REUTERS

President Trump, a frequent tweeter, will often repost content from his campaign’s Twitter to his own account in a way that avoids bans the platform places on tweets from the campaign’s accounts.

ter sanctions, like those that have been doled out to his press secretary Kayleigh McEnany and son Donald Trump Jr.: locking the account until an offending tweet is deleted.

Twitter spokesman Brandon Borrmann said the company only requires the original poster to remove the material that violated content.

“We only take enforcement action on those who uphold it organically,” he said.

It’s not the first time Trump’s campaign has born the brunt of the crackdown from social media companies.

In August, Twitter locked the campaign’s account until it removed a video in which Trump said children are “almost immune” from the coronavirus. Trump had also posted the video by sharing the campaign’s tweet. His account was left untouched, but after the campaign removed the video, it was also removed from his tweet.

This week, Team Trump’s account was again locked until it removed a video about Biden that related to a New York Post article reporting that Trump’s

personal attorney Rudolph W. Giuliani and his former top adviser Stephen K. Bannon claimed to have obtained and leaked a trove of private materials from Hunter Biden. Some of those suggested the younger Biden once gave a Ukrainian executive the “opportunity” to meet the former vice president. The Biden campaign said his schedule indicated no such meeting took place.

Twitter and Facebook both took quick action to limit the sharing and posting of the article, even before their partners had fact-checked it. That decision drew ire from Trump and his supporters. Trump called the decision “terrible.”

A message from Twitter posted by a Trump campaign staffer showed that Twitter said it violated its policy against posting private information when it posted the video about Biden later that day. Campaign spokesman Tim Murtaugh accused Twitter of trying to rig the election.

“This is election interference, plain and simple,” he said.

Trump had shared the same

video from the campaign’s account. Trump’s tweet is still up, but it now shows a link that takes app users to a notice that reads “This Tweet violated the Twitter Rules.”

The White House referred a request for comment to the campaign.

Twitter offers a few ways to share others’ videos and photos without retweeting them. One is by pressing and holding on the video using the phone app and choosing “Tweet Video.” Another is by finding the tweet’s embed code, usually used to add tweets to a website, and editing it down to a certain part.

By sharing it in this way, which shows the original video’s views, Trump is making his post seem more influential, said Jennifer Grygiel, a professor at Syracuse University and social media expert.

“I think that he knows that his @realDonaldTrump account is pretty much immune to most things except for some of these direct violations,” Grygiel said. “I think that he gets away with even more.”

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Twitter changes policy that blocked viral story

New York Post report sparked conversation about the site, censorship

BY ELIZABETH DWOSKIN

Twitter issued a stunning policy reversal Thursday, changing a rule about hacked materials that resulted in blocking a controversial New York Post story about the alleged emails of Democratic nominee Joe Biden’s son.

At first, the link to the New York Post story was still blocked under a policy that prohibits sharing people’s personal information, the company said. But on Friday, the New York Times reported that Twitter started allowing people to share the link because the information had spread so widely it no longer applied to the private information policy. Twitter declined to comment about the most recent change on the record.

Late Thursday night, Twitter executive Vijaya Gadde tweeted that the company made the decision after receiving “feedback” over the past 24 hours that the policy on hacked materials as written could result in undue censorship of journalists and whistleblowers. Going forward, the company will remove content only if it’s directly posted by hackers or those acting in concert with them. It will label more questionable tweets.

The late-night move reflected the challenges of real-time decision-making being made by Silicon Valley companies in the name of protecting public discussion during a presidential election that has been marred by disinformation and misleading news. Tech companies are intent on avoiding a repeat of the 2016 election, when their platforms were exploited by Russian operatives. As a result, they have issued a host of new rules and have taken some highly unusual actions, including censoring a major U.S. media company.

“Content moderation is incredibly difficult, especially in the critical context of an election. We are trying to act responsibly & quickly to prevent harms, but we’re still learning along the way,” Gadde, who leads the company’s legal, policy, and trust and safety divisions, wrote.

On Wednesday, Twitter blocked the link to the article in which President Trump’s personal lawyer Rudolph W. Giuliani

and former top adviser Stephen K. Bannon claimed to have obtained and leaked a trove of private materials from Hunter Biden. The leaked documents suggested that at one point he gave a Ukrainian executive the “opportunity” to meet the former vice president. The Biden campaign said his schedule indicated no such meeting took place.

The story surged to the top of Twitter’s trending topics list before it was censored.

The company said it took the action out of an abundance of caution over the potential that the emails may have been hacked. Twitter has prohibited the posting of hacked materials since 2018. The policy was adopted in response to an incident during the 2016 campaign, when Russia-tied WikiLeaks dumped hacked emails of Hillary Clinton’s campaign chairman, John Podesta.

Facebook also demoted the story pending fact-checker review. The company refused to provide a rationale for demoting the reach of the story, which, by late Thursday, was able to garner 1.9 million likes and shares.

The companies’ unusual actions drew immediate backlash from the Trump administration and GOP lawmakers, but also drew criticism from journalists and proponents of press freedom as it became clear that the New York Post’s behavior, as described in the article, did not appear to run afoul of accepted journalistic practice for obtaining information.

Others praised the companies for being cautious during a critical time.

In addition to censoring the story, Twitter temporarily froze the accounts of White House press secretary Kayleigh McEnany’s account, as well as the New York Post’s, adding notices to their tweets saying they violated Twitter’s rules on prohibiting publishing hacked materials. Trump’s campaign account was temporarily locked.

Claire Wardle, U.S. director of First Draft, a nonprofit organization that works with journalists and others to protect communities from harmful misinformation, said she felt the companies moved with “appropriate caution” this week.

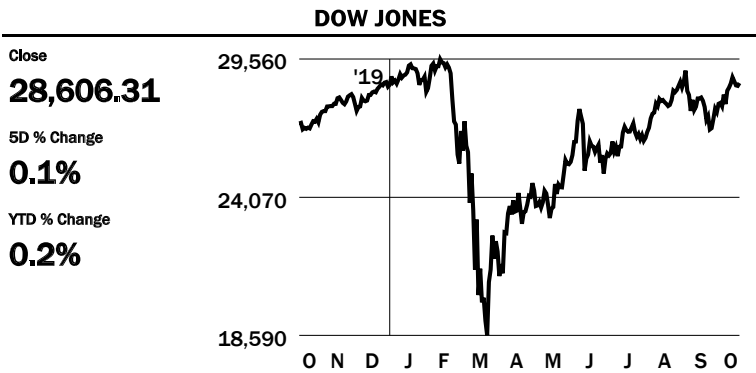
“This close to an election, I’d rather they take action, wait for investigations to happen, and then potentially roll back — rather than let an active disinformation campaign unfold,” she said.

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THE MARKETS

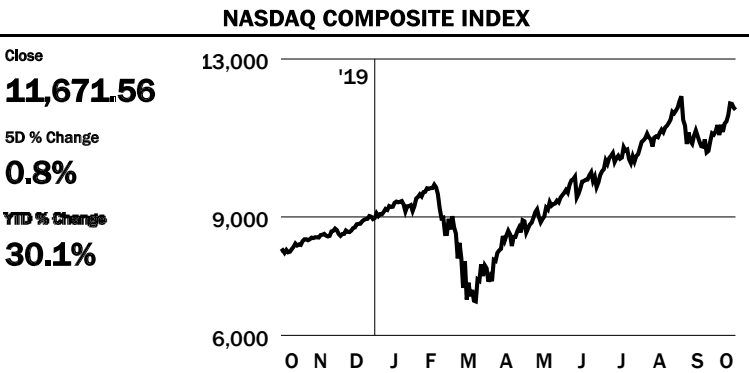
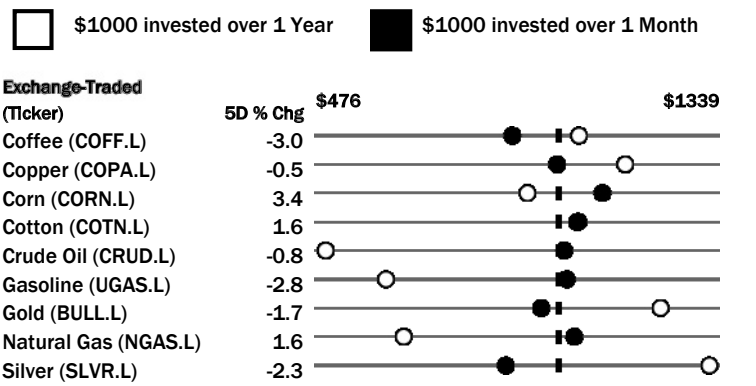
Monitor your investments at [washingtonpost.com/markets](https://www.washingtonpost.com/markets)

Data and graphics by **Bloomberg**



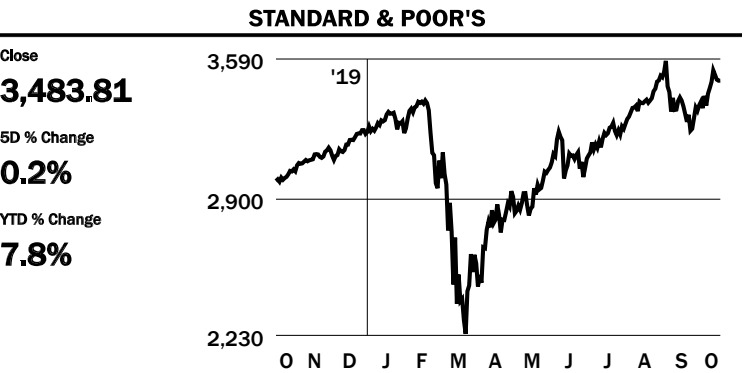
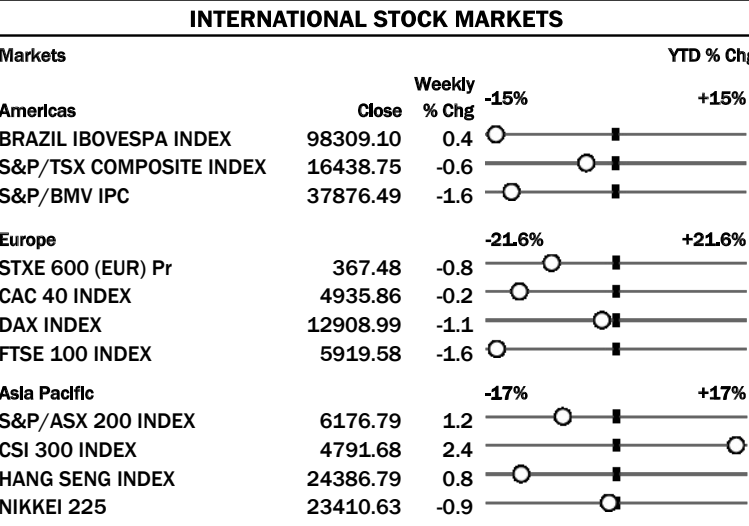
Dow Jones 30 Industrials							
Company	Close	5D % Chg	Chg % YTD	Company	Close	5D % Chg	Chg % YTD
3M Co	170.97	1.0	-3.1	J&J	148.10	-1.9	1.5
AmerExpCo	104.91	-1.3	-15.7	JPMorgan	101.51	0.3	-27.2
Amgen Inc	235.72	-0.4	-2.2	McDonald's	229.37	2.0	16.1
Apple Inc	119.02	1.8	62.4	Merck & Co	79.83	-0.7	-12.2
Boeing	167.35	0.0	-48.6	Microsoft	219.66	1.8	39.3
Caterpillr	168.75	6.2	14.3	NIKE Inc	128.00	-2.3	26.3
Chevron	72.89	-1.5	-39.5	Prcter & Gmbl	144.39	1.0	15.6
Cisco Sys	40.16	0.8	-16.3	salsfrclm	258.55	-2.8	59.0
Coca-Cola	50.03	-1.5	-9.6	Travelers Cos I	113.32	-2.2	-17.3
Dow Inc	49.30	-0.1	-9.9	UntdHlthGr	329.90	0.6	12.2
Gldman Schs	206.21	-0.6	-10.3	Verzn Comm	58.05	-2.2	-5.5
Hnywll Int	174.86	0.3	-1.2	Visa Inc	200.26	-3.1	6.6
Home Depot	287.66	0.6	31.7	Walgreens	37.41	2.9	-36.6
IBM	125.93	-1.5	-6.1	Walmart	144.71	1.4	21.8
Intel Corp	54.16	2.5	-9.5	Walt Disney	126.81	1.5	-12.3

COMMODITIES					
Futures	Close	5D % Chg	Futures	Close	5D % Chg
Copper	3.07	-0.5	Silver	24.41	-2.8
Crude Oil	40.88	0.7	Sugar	14.43	1.4
Gold	1906.40	-1.0	Soybean	10.50	-1.4
Natural Gas	2.77	1.2	Wheat	6.25	5.3
Orange Juice	1.15	-0.6	Corn	4.02	1.8



RATES					
Bank Prime	30-Yr Fixed mtg	10-yr note Yield:	10-yr note Yield:	10-yr note Yield:	10-yr note Yield:
3.25%	3.02%	0.75%	0.75%	0.75%	0.75%
Federal Funds	15-Yr Fixed mtg	5-yr note Yield:	5-yr note Yield:	5-yr note Yield:	5-yr note Yield:
0.25%	2.54%	0.32%	0.32%	0.32%	0.32%
LIBOR 3-Month	1-Yr ARM	2-yr note Yield:	2-yr note Yield:	2-yr note Yield:	2-yr note Yield:
0.22%	2.97%	0.15%	0.15%	0.15%	0.15%
Consumer Rates	5Yr CD Natl	6-month bill Yield:	6-month bill Yield:	6-month bill Yield:	6-month bill Yield:
Money Market Natl 0.22	0.62	0.11%	0.11%	0.11%	0.11%
6Mo CD Natl 0.30	New Car Loan Natl 4.13				
1Yr CD Natl 0.44	Home Equity Loan Natl 4.91				

Currency Exchange					
EU €	Japan ¥	Britain £	Brazil R\$	Canada \$	Mexico \$
0.85	105.40	0.77	5.65	1.32	21.16



S&P 500 Industry Group Snapshot			
Industry Group	Weekly % Chg	-50.3%	+50.3%
Automobiles	4.7		
Containers & Packaging	3.5		
Health Care Technology	3.1		
Power Prodct & Enrgy Trdr	3.0		
Distributors	2.6		
Energy Equipment & Svcs	-4.8		
Construction Materials	-3.9		
Biotechnology	-3.6		
Airlines	-3.1		
Diversified Telecomm	-2.8		

Gainers and Losers from the S&P 1500 Index					
Company	Close	5D % Chg	Company	Close	5D % Chg
Allscripts Hlth Sol	11.07	31.9	Gulfport Energy Corp	0.27	-59.0
CIT Group Inc	25.00	23.7	Zynex Inc	14.06	-28.7
Andersons Inc/The	23.15	18.1	Vertex Pharma	218.08	-19.2
Kraton Corp	29.50	16.5	Fulgent Genetics Inc	35.71	-18.8
Plantronics Inc	16.95	16.4	Royal Caribbean Crss	58.83	-17.2
Bed Bath & Beyond	24.84	15.7	Fossil Group Inc	5.68	-15.6
Chart Industries Inc	84.58	15.7	NorwegianCruiseLine	16.20	-13.5
United Natural Foods	19.49	14.2	EPR Properties	21.55	-13.0
Badger Meter Inc	80.38	14.0	Sunrun Inc	62.39	-12.7
Sleep Number Corp	63.15	13.8	Children's Place Inc	24.92	-12.3
MarineMax Inc	29.24	13.5	PBF Energy Inc	5.41	-12.3
Veritiv Corp	17.82	13.3	WPX Energy Inc	4.57	-12.1
Grubhub Inc	84.34	13.2	Hibbett Sports Inc	48.82	-11.9
AllianceDataSystems	55.00	13.1	RenewableEnergyGrou	55.87	-11.7
LivNova PLC	56.54	12.9	PebblebrookHotelTrst	12.35	-11.5
Unisys Corp	12.07	12.9	Designer Brands Inc	5.44	-11.4
Olin Corp	17.20	11.9	SM Energy Co	1.52	-11.1
GameStop Corp	13.31	10.7	Devon Energy Corp	8.95	-11.1
United Therapeutics	115.00	10.6	Callon Petroleum Co	4.67	-11.0
Axon Enterprise Inc	109.16	10.3	Six Flags Ent	19.29	-10.7

Data and graphics by: **Bloomberg**

Note: Bank prime is from 10 major banks. Federal Funds rate is the market rate, which can vary from the federal target rate. LIBOR is the London Interbank Offered Rate. Consumer rates are from Bankrate. All figures as of 4:30 p.m. New York time.

Like President Trump, they owed money. But they lost their security clearance.



Federal Insider

JOE DAVIDSON

Being in debt is common, but the implications are worse for some. Federal employees and contractors, and candidates for sensitive government jobs who owe money face far more serious consequences than average Americans with financial liabilities.

Debt can ruin careers of federal workers and block job applicants from getting good government gigs. Not holding a security clearance is synonymous with not holding a job in certain fields. Access to classified information, required for many positions in intelligence and defense-related agencies and companies, often is denied because employees or applicants are in the red.

Unless you are the president. President Trump — privy to the nation's most precious secrets — the vice president and members of Congress aren't subjected to the same background investigation many federal workers must endure to

get or keep jobs. Those jobs are with organizations that do sensitive work, but the people are not necessarily spies, intelligence analysts or in high-level positions. They can be receptionists and office workers.

Whatever position, they must have their finances under control in the eyes of agency decision-makers. Being hundreds of millions of dollars in debt certainly would raise countless red flags. But not for Trump.

The president's "finances are under stress, beset by losses and hundreds of millions of dollars in debt coming due that he has personally guaranteed," according to a New York Times article pegging his debt at \$421 million.

Security clearances have been denied to regular employees and contractors for much less. Their stories reflect the financial difficulties that can hit even in the best of times. Reports from the Defense Office of Hearings and Appeals, which considers security clearance contractor cases from dozens of agencies, provide these details, but no names.

- A 51-year-old married office

manager with two adult children had a security clearance since 1988. She earned about \$80,000 annually. Because of admitted poor judgment and setting her own bills aside while she helped family members, she accumulated \$51,000 in debt, including \$12,000 in federal taxes.

The debt concern "is broader than the possibility that a person might knowingly compromise classified information to raise money," wrote Noreen A. Lynch, an administrative judge in the office manager's case. Quoting government guidelines, Lynch said that "failure to live within one's means, satisfy debts, and meet financial obligations may indicate poor self-control, lack of judgment, or unwillingness to abide by rules and regulations, all of which can raise questions about an individual's reliability, trustworthiness, and ability to protect classified or sensitive information. . . . An individual who is financially overextended is at greater risk of having to engage in illegal or otherwise questionable acts to generate funds."

Regarding the office manager, Lynch's December 2019 report

said "she loves her job and wishes to continue" with her employer of 20 years.

That's nice, but not enough. "I conclude that it is not clearly consistent with the national interest to continue Applicant's eligibility for access to classified information," Lynch declared. "Clearance is denied."

- A 47-year-old Army veteran, married with five kids, lost his lucrative employment because he wanted to help his cousin. With his wife's income, they earned well over \$200,000 annually and paid their bills on time. Then the father decided to co-sign student loans for his low-credit-rated cousin — not once, not twice, but three times.

The rest you can guess. The cousin didn't pay the debt, so the father, a project manager with a defense contractor, was stuck with the bills. He refused to pay, until it was too late — a decision he regrets.

"I lost a substantial amount of money because that happened," he said at a hearing. "I mean, in retrospect I would have just paid it."

His interim security clearance was revoked in June 2019. A February decision by

Administrative Judge Pamela C. Benson upheld his denial to classified information access.

"His unwillingness to make good-faith efforts to repay the charged-off student loans when he has the financial means to do so shows he cannot always be trusted to fulfill his promises," Benson wrote.

- A 42-year-old mother of three and her husband suffered unemployment and financial trouble so great they moved to another state to live with her parents. Over a three-year period, she accumulated more than \$30,000 in debt from credit cards and car loans and had one vehicle repossessed.

Apparently, there was little evidence in her favor as she sought a security clearance. When "evaluating the very limited evidence in the record in the context of the whole person, I conclude Applicant has not mitigated the security concerns raised by her delinquent debts," Administrative Judge John Bayard Glendon wrote in his January decision.

With more than 4 million citizens holding security clearances at the "secret" level or above, not all with financial ills

are rejected.

A 44-year-old security receptionist, married with an adult daughter, was granted access to classified information in January. Unemployment and underemployment left her owing \$47,600 to several sources and with a car that was voluntarily repossessed.

But an administrative judge, Mark Harvey, found her efforts to resolve her delinquent debts "sufficient to mitigate financial considerations security concerns. . . . Applicant understands how to budget and what she needs to do to establish and maintain her financial responsibility." Harvey granted the receptionist access to classified information.

Many stories don't have a happy ending. One person had to abandon his life's work after years of graduate study to prepare for a job with the Defense Intelligence Agency. He was denied security clearance because of his massive student loans — even though he's not delinquent on those loans.

He declined to be named but was open about his feelings: "I'm definitely bitter"

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U.S. budget deficit breaches \$3.1 trillion amid debate over more virus relief

DEFICIT FROM A1

government brought in \$3.420 trillion in tax revenue in 2020, a slight decrease from last year.

"Most of the increase in the deficit relative to last year is higher spending as a result of covid relief," said Marc Goldwein, a budget expert at the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, which advocates for reducing the deficit.

The new figures come as the White House and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) are locked in negotiations about another round of economic relief, which could include about \$2 trillion more in aid. Spending like this could further add to the government's budget deficit, but economic experts from across the political spectrum, including Federal Reserve Chair Jerome H. Powell, have said the assistance is necessary to prevent the economic recovery from flagging and keep millions of people from falling into poverty. Businesses have picked up the pace of layoffs in recent weeks, particularly at travel-related companies.

Numerous Republican lawmakers have bristled at the federal spending spree in response to the pandemic, and the surging deficit may fuel their reluctance to authorize additional relief. Conservatives alarmed by the deficit may also push hard for its reduction should Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden win the election, setting the stage for a revival of the fierce budget battles prevalent during much of the Obama administration.

The government traditionally runs some sort of budget deficit, and it finances the gap between taxes and spending by issuing debt. Interest rates are low, which has made it relatively inexpensive to issue debt. But the debt totals have risen markedly during the Trump administration, even before the pandemic, upending the president's 2016 campaign vow to eliminate the debt over eight years. The debt when Trump entered office was about \$14.4 trillion. It now stands at around \$21 trillion.

The previous highest deficit recorded was in 2009, when it came in at \$1.4 trillion. That is less than half this year's tally.

In March and April, Congress approved close to \$3 trillion in spending programs in response to the pandemic. This included hundreds of billion of dollars in aid for the unemployed and small businesses, as well as \$1,200 stimulus checks for millions of Americans. The economy fell into a steep recession earlier this year as many businesses shut down and sent workers home because of the virus outbreak.

The government's spending imbalance skyrocketed in April and June as the government's coronavirus relief efforts were implemented and the economy cratered. That's because the gap between federal spending and collected tax revenue grew to unprecedented levels. The monthly deficit jumped to \$738 billion for April alone, which was a record until the monthly deficit for June came in at \$864 billion. The June deficit was bigger than the entire 12-month deficit in 2018.

Spending soared across government agencies this year. The



Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, economic adviser Larry Kudlow and Scott Atlas of the Hoover Institution listen as President Trump speaks at an August virus briefing. The debt when Trump entered office was about \$14.4 trillion. It now stands at around \$21 trillion.

“Stacked up against questions about the debt, meaningful investments to improve people’s lives should win every time. Massive investment right now will help the economy growth overall, and if we pursue austerity, people will suffer and we will have a slower, more painful recovery across the board.”

Angela Hanks, deputy executive director of the Groundwork Collaborative

Education Department, for instance, spent 96 percent more than it had last fiscal year, while the Small Business Administration spent close to \$600 billion more than previous years due to its implementation of the Paycheck Protection Program for small businesses hurt by the virus.

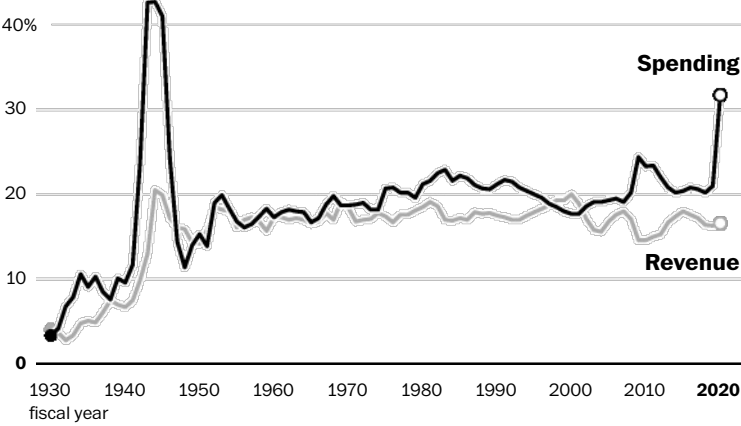
Monthly deficits have since subsided somewhat, as the pace of new government spending slowed and the U.S. economy began to bounce back and the unemployment rate fell, resulting in greater tax revenue. In August, the monthly federal deficit came in at \$200 billion, as the amount of federal spending was halved from June. But this decrease in spending has come amid signs that the economic recovery is slowing, which has prompted the White House and some lawmakers to consider more aid.

Despite the increase of the deficit, economists and lawmakers from both sides of the political aisle have clamored for more government spending. The unemployment rate fell from 14.7 percent in April to 7.9 percent in September, but tens of millions of Americans remain out of work, and elevated jobless claims have persisted. A federal unemployment benefit for millions of people has expired, and economists warn that the recovery could be stalled or set back by prematurely ending government aid programs.

America's failure to adequately stimulate the economy helped lead to a tepid recovery from the Great Recession, and lawmakers should avoid making the same

U.S. revenue and spending

As a share of gross domestic product



Sources: Treasury Department; Office of Management and Budget; Congressional Budget Office THE WASHINGTON POST

mistake again, said Angela Hanks, deputy executive director of the Groundwork Collaborative, a left-leaning group. Congress must still pass more spending to prevent people from going hungry or losing their homes, she said.

"Stacked up against questions about the debt, meaningful investments to improve people's lives should win every time," Hanks said. "Massive investment right now will help the economy growth overall, and if we pursue austerity, people will suffer and we will have a slower, more painful recovery across the board."

Brian Riedl, a budget analyst at the conservative-leaning Manhattan Institute, warned that America's jobs recovery has already picked up the "low-hanging fruit" positions that were

easy to bring back. Other jobs in sectors such as the hospitality, airline and restaurant industries will be harder to bring back, particularly as the United States braces for an increase in coronavirus cases during the cold winter months.

"The growth is leveling off. The economic recovery is leveling off," Riedl said. "Which means the deficit numbers will continue to be pretty bad."

But the bipartisan consensus that approved the big jump in spending earlier this year appears to have waned, and some Senate Republicans have signaled they are not comfortable with the big spending package that the White House is negotiating with Pelosi.

Trump fell far short of his pledge to curb the national debt from the 2016 presidential cam-

paign, when he argued: "We've got to get rid of the \$19 trillion in debt." Trump spearheaded a Republican effort to approve \$2 trillion in tax cuts in 2017, and he also worked with Congress to approve large spending increases in 2018.

On Wednesday, Trump told the New York Economic Club that reducing the federal debt would be a priority of his second term, even as he urges Congress to spend more than \$1.8 trillion on an additional relief package. Trump also said faster economic growth would erase the U.S. debt burden, although budget experts say spending cuts or tax hikes would be necessary to do so.

"It's very concerning to me and we're going to start doing that. I think you're going to start to see tremendous growth . . . the growth is going to get it done," Trump said of the rising debt. "It's very much on my mind."

Trump also asserted Thursday, without evidence or explanation, that China would pay for the stimulus package, similar to his previous false claim that Mexico would pay for the border wall. All the spending increases he has authorized since taking office have been financed by U.S. government funds.

The \$3.1 trillion deficit reflects the 2020 fiscal year, which includes several months before the pandemic struck. Both the amount of federal spending this year and the overall deficit are record amounts in American history, senior Treasury Department officials told reporters on a phone call Friday.

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FREE FOR ALL

Coping, not cured

In his Oct. 1 Thursday Opinion column, “Joe Biden outperforms the performer president,” Matt Bai used the words “the childhood stutter that has now returned.” As a person who stutters, I know that one does not outgrow this childhood-onset fluency disorder. We manage it with different coping techniques to communicate effectively.

Cathy Henderson, Silver Spring

The trash talk we need

Never underestimate the power of a good laugh. A huge thank-you to Hank Stuever, the headline writers and the copy editors of the Oct. 1 Style section for their very funny take on the Sept. 29 presidential candidates’ “debate”: “Dumpster fires to U.S.: Hey, leave us out of this!”

It made my morning.

Susan Bodiker, Washington



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump and Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden in Cleveland on Sept. 29.

Dispiriting equivalence

In his Sept. 30 front-page The Take column, “A dispiriting first faceoff and an insult to America,” Dan Balz admitted that the tone of the first presidential debate was established by President Trump, but went on to say that Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden “looked peevisish . . . responding with well-prepared rejoinders but also with dismissive verbal broadsides.” Balz called it an “unseemly shout fest” between the candidates.

Is the need to seem evenhanded so overpowering that we cannot recognize behavior that is not just unseemly, not just outside the norm, but potentially treasonous? The president implicitly threatened violence against the American people in the form of his white-supremacist supporters if we dared to try to vote him out.

Jill McGowan, Silver Spring

What Going Gray revealed

In her Oct. 1 Ask Amy column, “Trainer who knocked out his hookup’s husband is floored that he was fired,” Amy Dickinson gratuitously attacked the letter-writer “Going Gray” as “too sensitive,” even though Dickinson admitted not knowing the specifics of what the hairstylist said. Without sufficient facts, Dickinson became sarcastic and insulting in the last paragraph.

Though so-called snowflakes may exist, on the facts submitted, we have no idea where Going Gray fell on the spectrum. Shame on Dickinson for jumping to conclusions. I think I will follow her advice and “patronize any business” I want by no longer reading her column and encouraging others to do the same. She has revealed more about herself and her own attitudes and biases than we could ever know about Going Gray or the hairstylist!

Ginna Ingram, Potomac

Not headline material

I was disappointed in the misleading headlines of two articles in the Oct. 1 Metro section. On the front page of the section, a headline trumpeted, “Army vet in Va. gets 74-year prison term.” Other than a mention in passing, way down in the article, that the judge acknowledged the felon’s service, there was nothing that tied military service to the crime for which the individual was convicted. The headline suggested such a tie and was therefore unwarranted.

Another article, on the back page of the Metro section, had a headline, “Veteran not competent to stand trial in slaying,” that similarly suggested a connection between an accused murderer and his military service. Again, because the article didn’t discuss such a connection, the headline was unwarranted.

Because there was no evidence presented that military service had anything to do with the substance of the articles, that service should not have been mentioned in the headlines.

Van Stewart, Alexandria

Don’t forget labor

The Oct. 4 Election 2020 graphic “Where Trump and Biden stand on the issues” was very informative. I liked its format of “Yes”/“No” on topics with brief explanations. But it was very disappointing that there was not even the slightest addressing of labor rights. Does anyone at The Post work for a living?

Kevin P. Creighan, Washington

The writer is secretary-treasurer of the Association of Flight Attendants-CWA.

Extra innings, extra excitement

The Oct. 1 Sports columns by Thomas Boswell [“Sports crowds share joy. Now games feel emptier.”] and Dave Sheinin [“For MLB, it’s a long day’s playoff journey into night”] were beautifully written and thoughtful.

Sheinin wrote that the record-setting, 13-inning Braves-Reds game in Atlanta “unwittingly demonstrated the appeal of the extra-inning rule MLB used during the regular season — with each half-inning in extras starting with a runner on second.” I couldn’t disagree more. The last three innings were some of the most exciting I’ve ever seen, with the Reds loading the bases with two outs in the 11th and only one in the 13th, and yet the Braves pitched and fielded so well the Reds didn’t score. The “runner-on-second” rule would have robbed fans of all that suspense and great play, to say nothing of the classic “small ball” finish in the bottom of the 13th.

It was one of the greatest games I’ve ever seen. I wouldn’t have had it any other way.

Alan Baragona, Staunton, Va.



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Volunteer Danielle Pingue helps pack boxes for senior citizens at D.C.’s Capital Area Food Bank on March 16.

Charity begins at home

The Oct. 3 news article “U.S. faces shortfall of billions of meals, food bank warns,” about the increasing pressure on the nation’s food banks, continued a distressing trend I have noticed in The Post’s coverage of these important organizations. The story was accompanied by a large photograph from the Greater Boston Food Bank and told the story of how one Massachusetts family depended on their services. This article joined a number of other articles on food banks in The Post that ignore the fact that the D.C. metropolitan area is served

by the Capital Area Food Bank, which for decades has been a leader in providing food to those in need.

This food bank supplies food to hundreds of charitable agencies and churches in this area to support local families and children. Was a telephone call to ask for information about CAFB’s experience during the pandemic too difficult? I’m happy that Boston has a food bank, but shouldn’t The Post also look at where it lives for stories?

Grant P. Thompson, Washington

The better mask message

The Sept. 30 Style article “Maskless narcissists, you’re right. This is all about you.” offered suggestions for how to deal with people who don’t wear masks in public, especially if they are narcissists. The article mistook the effects of a public health misinformation campaign for personality traits. Causing the reader to perceive those maskless people as narcissists could make the problem of divisiveness only worse.

Mask mandates have been compared to seat-belt or helmet laws. But those laws protect only the wearer. Not wearing a mask is more like drunken driving. Most people have been well educated on drunken-driving laws and understand and agree with those laws. They respect that drunken driving endangers the lives of others. If we had received clear messaging from the beginning of the coronavirus pandemic about how wearing a mask protects everyone around you, everywhere — not just Grandma at home — and that not wearing a mask can kill total strangers nearby, I think more people would have complied.

Calling these people narcissists implied that those not wearing masks know better but refuse to comply. That isn’t the case at all. They really are uninformed. They’ve been told by the news, state leaders and even the president that masks are just okay or they’re what the liberals wear to make a point about how bad the situation is. I hope our leaders and journalists can get on the same page, start explaining the danger better and remind people that going without a mask, even if they’re not sick, is just like drunken driving. I think with clearer education, much of that “narcissism” would magically disappear, and, maybe, so would the virus.

Nancy Schneider, Clifton

An elementary omission

Failing to so much as mention Basil Rathbone’s portrayal of Sherlock Holmes in an article about the great detective’s appearance in film, “Sleuthing out other Sherlock adaptations” [Style, Sept. 30], was akin to omitting Mozart from any discussion about 18th-century music.

Bill Straub, Silver Spring

Lights in the tunnel

While The Post effectively uses the power of words to prove that “Democracy Dies in Darkness,” its actions also offer an equally powerful proof: “People Grow in Light.”

The evidence: Ann Hornaday and Rob-in Givhan. Two writers planted in the silos of film and fashion and productively providing the fruits of their minds to nurture The Post’s hungry readers but who now are no longer growing where they were planted.

Their Oct. 4 columns, demonstrating not just the depth of their roots but the width of their worldviews, now appear “up front” in the light where they can get the attention they deserve.

Thanks for helping us see not just some light at the end of the tunnel but also the nature of the tunnel itself.

Lewis Rhodes, Silver Spring

Robin Givhan’s Oct. 4 The Critique column, “After diagnosis, masks morph into a symbol of anger,” was an excellent example of her prose. She writes in a fluid and eloquent style without being verbose. Her images are often striking, such as her metaphor about masks: “The mask is a repository for blame that has overflowed the banks of the federal government and has nowhere else to go.”

Her trenchant insights put the mundane into a global perspective, such as her comment that President Trump’s “ambivalence about face masks has become a matter of national security.” Ms. Givhan deserves her new placement in the A section.

Other opinion writers could learn from her concise and expressive prose.

Terry Thompson, Clarksville



KATHERINE FREY/THE WASHINGTON POST

With the White House in the background, 20,000 chairs, each representing 10 deaths from the coronavirus pandemic in the United States, are lined up on the Ellipse in Washington on Oct. 4.

These empty chairs held a lot of meaning

Katherine Frey’s stark and moving Metro section photograph of the 20,000 empty chairs on the Ellipse, representing the more than 200,000 coronavirus victims in the United States, deserved to be on the Oct. 5 front page. Instead, the top headlines all described the confusion, mendacity and incompetence surrounding one specific case of the disease — the one who was under treatment at Walter Reed

National Military Medical Center, the one largely responsible for the tragic course of the pandemic in this country. The circus surrounding the president’s own illness reflected the administration’s approach to managing the virus, with stubborn denials and shockingly careless behavior leading us here, to a field of empty chairs.

Patrick L. Phillips, Washington

Digesting the Trump era

Kudos to Carlos Lozada for his wide-ranging survey of the many books written about the Trump era [“The Trump era, at maximum volume,” Book World, Oct. 4]. Being able to digest more than 150 books on this topic is itself a literary feat, but he managed to write with a degree of objectivity most of us find difficult to attain during this conflicted time.

Jo Ann Browning Seeley, Alexandria

The Oct. 4 Book World excerpt from Carlos Lozada’s book, “What Were We Thinking: A Brief Intellectual History of the Trump Era,” said not a word about President Trump’s erratic, reckless and damaging foreign policy and failure to secure our national security interests. From a bizarre and possibly treasonous embrace of Russia, described in his own administration’s National Security Strategy as a perilous foe, to his complete failure in dealing with nuclear weapons issues with North Korea and Iran, to his denial of climate change, to withdrawal from one multilateral treaty after another, Trump has proved to be just what 50 former national security officials who served under Republican presidents predicted in August 2016: “the most reckless” president in U.S. history. More than 70 such men and women say that today, plus nearly 500 top military leaders.

Virtually every respected national security leader in the country — former secretaries of defense and state and heads of national intelligence — has condemned Trump’s performance over nearly four years. Many have quit the administration in disgust at his lack of competence. The recent Pew Research Center survey of global views of the United States verifies the collapse in respect for this country under Trump.

Because the article was “adapted” from Lozada’s book, it is impossible to know whether that volume contains any mention of these critical issues.

Frederic B. Hill, Arrowsic, Maine

The writer was foreign affairs director for Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.). He is the author of “Derelection of Duty: The Failed Presidency of Donald John Trump.”



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

The moon, seen from Arlington, rises behind the Washington Monument on Oct. 1.

Space to breathe

Perfectly placed on the last page of the Oct. 4 news section filled with depressing news about the novel coronavirus and President Trump, the night of the tragedy in Kenosha, Wis., and a D.C. judge accused of sexually assaulting a 16-year-old girl, Matt McClain’s breathtaking photograph of the full moon behind the Washington Monument allowed me to smile, reflect and forget (if only for a few precious minutes) the 31 pages of bad news that preceded it.

Bill Duggan, Washington

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

EDITORIALS

A dangerous declaration

The notion that we can ‘resume life as normal’ right now is misguided.

THE UNITED STATES and Europe are headed into an autumn surge of coronavirus infections that portends a winter of trouble. New cases in the United States are trending upward in 41 states and declining in none. So it may be attractive to find a new plan for handling the pandemic that offers a relatively sunny path. Don't be fooled.

The new plan, known as the Great Barrington Declaration, was unveiled Oct. 4 at the American Institute for Economic Research, a libertarian think tank in that western Massachusetts town. The authors call for protecting the “vulnerable,” but, for most others — especially the young — recommend “resume life as normal.” Open schools, universities, restaurants and other businesses; hold arts, sports and cultural activities; and follow “simple hygiene measures.” The spreading infection will eventually reach “herd immunity,” a tipping point when enough people gain natural immunity that the virus will not circulate.

This is a terribly misguided and dangerous no-

tion. It would lead to a new wave of illness and deaths. The authors, Martin Kulldorff of Harvard University, Sunetra Gupta of Oxford University and Jay Bhattacharya of Stanford University Medical School, propose to “allow those who are at minimal risk of death to live their lives normally to build up immunity to the virus through natural infection, while better protecting those who are at highest risk.” How many people will die or suffer debilitating sickness along this path toward “herd immunity”? They don't say. But the experience of the past nine months provides incontrovertible evidence that when people congregate in bars and restaurants, at weddings, on cruise ships, in the White House or in summer camp, the virus transmits and deaths follow. President Trump's disastrous encouragement to Sun Belt states to open in May triggered a catastrophic virus surge in the United States. Today, the U.S. death toll is more than 217,000. How many more waves, how many more overwhelmed hospitals — like those in Wisconsin — would the authors wish us to endure before reaching natural “herd

immunity”? They don't say.

Allowing the virus to run riot in pursuit of this chimera means deliberately putting down the tools that now exist to save lives in the interim period before an effective vaccine or drug therapy arrives. Those tools include selective restrictions on how people can congregate, as well as social distancing and other measures. The authors rightly point to the enormous cost of lockdowns, especially in education and the economy. Public fatigue also makes some restrictions less useful or reliable. But given the surging infections, every measure that works must be considered. The authors do not even mention face masks, one of the most effective.

The White House says the Great Barrington Declaration “aligns very strongly” with Mr. Trump's policy. At least in spirit, it certainly matches his reckless surrender to the virus, neglecting to mount a vigorous federal response, and instead turning it over to besieged states and localities. Beware all those who say the virus will vanish if we simply relax and stop worrying about it.

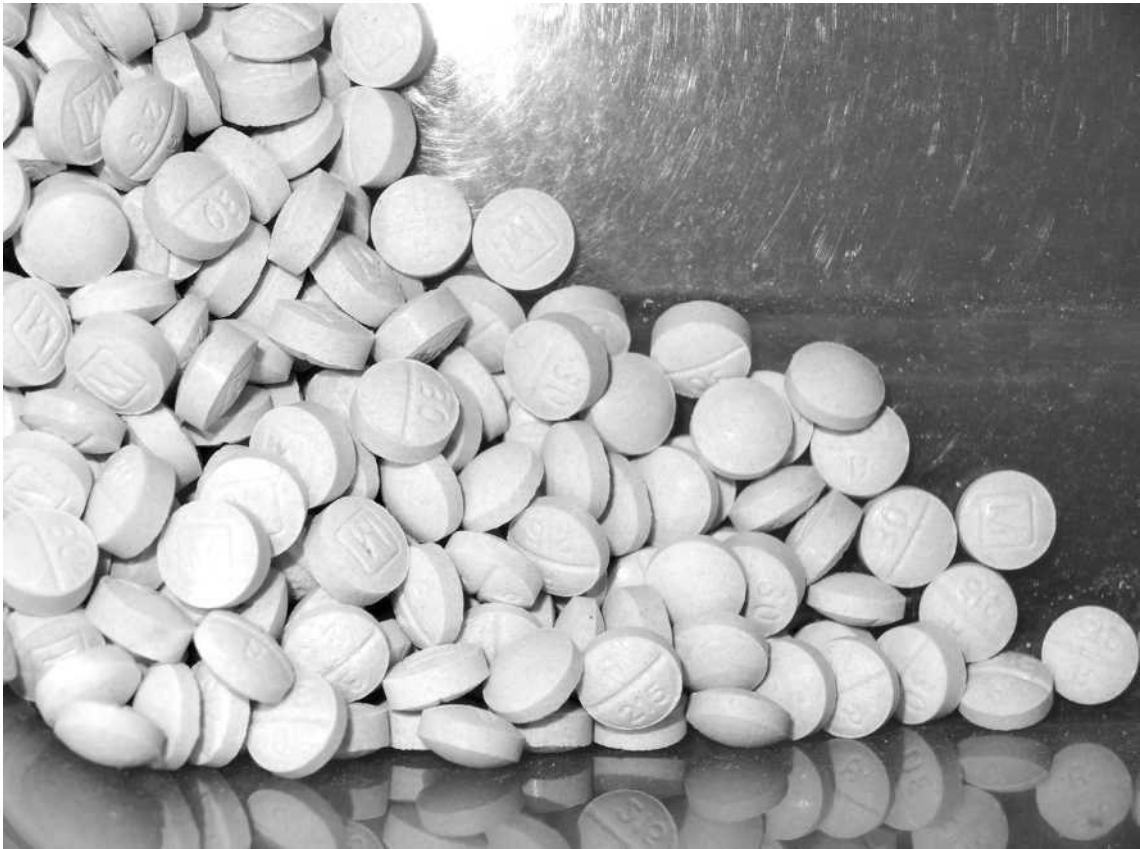
The other public health disaster

The opioid crisis didn't disappear amid the pandemic.

UNDERSTANDABLY, THE coronavirus pandemic ranks as the nation's top public health priority, with first claim on limited public funds and public attention. Yet more of both must be devoted to the public health catastrophe that dominated the headlines before the coronavirus hit early this year, and that has not disappeared since: opioid addiction.

In fact, the likelihood is that the coronavirus pandemic has worsened the opioid crisis. Treatment for addiction is expensive and time-consuming and requires health-care professionals to sustain direct personal interaction with patients. All of that has been made more difficult by the diversion of medical personnel and hospital space to covid-19 and by necessary restrictions on individual movement. Joblessness and social isolation create emotional stress that may interfere with recovery. One in 8 adults surveyed in June by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported increased substance use since the pandemic began, according to the Wall Street Journal. The American Medical Association recently declared itself “greatly concerned” by reports of increased death from overdoses, particularly of the synthetic opioid fentanyl.

To be sure, definitive overdose-death statistics for 2020 are not yet available, but trends were heading in the wrong direction even before this year, as provisional CDC figures released in July show. Drug overdose deaths in the United States rose 4.6 percent in 2019 to 70,980, including 50,042 involving opioids, reversing what had been a 4.1 percent decline between 2017 and 2018 — the first such decrease in decades. What's more, data gathered by Hawre Jalal and Donald S. Burke of the University of Pittsburgh suggest that the 2018 decline did not reflect improved access to treatment or better treatment methods. Rather, it traced to a short-term drop in supply of a particularly deadly Chinese-made syn-



U.S. ATTORNEY'S OFFICE FOR UTAH VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Fentanyl-laced fake oxycodone pills collected during an investigation.

thetic opioid — carfentanil.

The Obama administration deserves credit for pressuring China on this point late in its second term, and the Trump administration has followed up. Yet supply-side interventions, while welcome and necessary, must be augmented by effective demand reduction. A study by Stanford psychiatric researcher Chelsea Shover and colleagues shows that fentanyl consumption has just begun to spread from the Eastern United States to the previously less affected states west of the Mississippi, whose share of fentanyl deaths roughly quadrupled between 2017 to 2019.

In 2016, President Trump promised lasting progress on opioids, but clearly he has not delivered. It's

not so much that he has done nothing — his administration has spent \$3 billion per year in new money on the problem. Rather, the spending still isn't substantial enough. Meanwhile, the president has wasted time on irrelevancies such as the death penalty for traffickers or backed actually harmful ideas such as abolishing Obamacare. Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden has a comprehensive and aggressive plan that would boost the federal commitment to \$125 billion over 10 years, but you don't hear much about it — not even from him. That should change in what remains of the campaign, lest it be forgotten that the legacy of the past nearly four years includes not one but two major pieces of unfinished business in public health.

A safer plan for emergency response

A proposal to fund alternatives to sending police during mental health crises merits Congress's attention.

EARLIER THIS year, Daniel T. Prude died after a brutal police encounter when officers responded to a 911 call from Mr. Prude's brother, who was seeking help for his brother's psychosis. Daniel Prude's senseless death emphasized the tragic reality that too often, a moment of crisis turns into a fatal brush with the law, particularly during a mental health emergency. The obvious illogic and cruelty of using force against a frightened, unarmed individual who poses no risk raises the question: Couldn't people in crisis be assisted by someone other than an armed policeman?

Though they may agree on little else, police reform activists and police officers often agree that law enforcement is asked to handle too many of society's problems. We've written before about the proven value of training police officers to de-escalate when called to help people in mental health emergencies, but even with such training, police officers are neither social workers nor mental health work-

ers. People experiencing crises that relate to mental health, substance abuse or homelessness often fail to get the help they really need when the police show up. The very presence of an armed officer — particularly one who doesn't recognize that a person in mental distress may respond unpredictably to the stress of the situation — can lead to a deadly escalation.

With many failures of policing on horrific display in recent months, calls to divest from law enforcement as main providers of public safety must contend with an awkward reality — in most places, non-policing solutions do not yet exist. Now comes a proposed remedy from Sen. Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.) and Rep. Karen Bass (D-Calif.): the Community-Based Response Act. The bill would create a grant program, run by the Department of Health and Human Services, to support localities in building alternatives to law enforcement for emergency and non-emergency response.

Investing in non-policing solutions, as the bill

does, is a crucial contribution to broader efforts to reimagine public safety. Certainly, some localities already deploy solutions to crisis response that do not rely solely on the police. The Cahoots program in Eugene, Ore., handles a portion of the city's 911 calls, sending a medic and a crisis worker when the emergency doesn't warrant a law enforcement response. More informally, many marginalized communities that have fraught relationships with law enforcement have long devised ways to respond to their own crises that don't involve calling the police. Still, this bill's commitment to supporting community coalitions in building new options would be a major step forward that would enable much-needed experimentation. Such experimentation in turn would generate important data about what works best for different communities.

With Congress as dysfunctional as it is these days, the prospects for movement anytime soon on a bill such as this are slim. But the next Congress should make this effort a priority.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

letters@washpost.com

Voting isn't a sport

Regarding Mike Murphy's Oct. 13 Tuesday Opinion commentary, “One way for networks to fight election-night misinformation”:

Mr. Murphy's suggestions on how to deal with media reporting on election returns have one huge flaw: that these need to be reported at all prior to a final vote count. For years, I have been agog at the practice of rolling reporting of which states go for which candidate, hours before more westward states close their polling places. This can exert undue influence on voters and interfere with a fair election just as surely as can hackers in Moscow.

I suppose watching voting returns on election night is like watching a horse race for many. Highly entertaining if you can stay awake that long. But voting is not a sport and should not be treated as one.

The best way to report voting results is to wait until all votes are counted, determine the winner by the normal methods state by state, and when the process is complete, the news media can simply announce the results showing how each state voted, etc.

Does this violate freedom of the press? Perhaps. But an election is not the same as most other news. The need to keep the process secure, like other matters of national security, should take precedence. Ballots are secret for a reason. The results should remain as such until all the votes are counted.

Let the people enjoy their favorite shows on election night. Lord knows they can use some diversion. The results will be known soon enough, and voters will be able to get a good night's sleep to boot.

Norman Dovberg, Reston

Preventing imperialism

Regarding Max Boot's Oct. 8 Thursday Opinion commentary, “The dangers of an imperial presidency”:

President Trump, having done a good job of virtually nothing else, has clearly delineated many of the fault lines of our democracy. Mr. Boot cites a long list of abuses and irresponsible behavior by Mr. Trump and makes an important recommendation regarding control of the nuclear arsenal.

Coming at that problem — and many others we have witnessed in the Trump administration from the front end — three basic suggestions come to mind: First, any candidate for president who qualifies to be on a debate stage during the primaries must have released their tax returns for a specified number of years. Second, once a president is elected, his or her businesses and other financial instruments as defined by legislation must be put in a blind trust before taking the oath of office. Third, all candidates for Congress and the presidency should have to pass a background check that would conditionally preapprove them for an appropriate level of security clearance.

The Congressional Research Service recommended background checks for members of Congress in 2011. Legislation has been introduced in the past but has gone nowhere. Apparently, there is a notion that election is a public stamp of approval for an officeholder to have access to classified information. How quaint. As for Mr. Trump, if these few things were law, he never would have come down that escalator.

Cortez Austin, Upper Marlboro

Big changes ahead

Regarding E.J. Dionne Jr.'s Oct. 12 op-ed, “The GOP's brazen, deceitful court-packing”:

Mr. Dionne is right, as usual. The Republicans are going to confirm yet another justice who is openly opposed to *Roe v. Wade*. The assumption is that the court will now overturn *Roe*. Fine. Do it.

I am pro-choice; I am not pro-abortion. There's a difference. I don't know anyone who is pro-abortion. That's an epithet used by folks who are opposed to women's right to choose what happens to their bodies.

That said, I'm more than ready to see *Roe* overturned if it happens. It's puzzling that Republicans have had to ability to do this for about 30 years, but they did not. So, do it, be done with it, then shut up about it and get on with other business.

Bob Bailey, Silver Spring

President Trump, Post columnists and others continue to say that Democratic nominees Joe Biden and Kamala D. Harris should state whether they will try to expand the size of the Supreme Court in an effort to make it less dominated by Republican-nominated justices.

The answer Mr. Biden and Ms. Harris should be giving is simple. The Republicans are the ones already packing the Supreme Court. They have excessively politicized the process for selecting and confirming nominees, and their rules changes and hypocrisy threaten to pack the court with another Republican ideologue.

If the Republicans persist in this effort and force through President Trump's late-term nomination of Judge Amy Coney Barrett before the election, Mr. Biden and the Democrats must consider all available tools to try to make the Supreme Court less politicized, less ideological, and governed more by existing law and court precedent.

Asking Mr. Biden and the Democrats to rule out any available tool to address the horrible damage to the court, its reputation and future rulings caused by the Republicans' partisan power politics is a foolish diversion that could prevent future efforts to restore democracy and fair play.

Eric N. Lindblom, Takoma Park

Combating poverty

The Oct. 12 editorial “Another covid-19 casualty” addresses one of the main problems facing humanity today. It correctly points to the need for more assistance to those in that dire situation. However, we must keep in mind that solving poverty should be done not only by providing food and financial assistance, but also by insisting that education in its multiple forms has a critical role to play to improve this situation.

César Chelala, New York

Leave some admission choices to chance

Regarding the Oct. 9 Metro article, “Magnet school entry test is over”:

The Fairfax County School Board was right to abolish the entry test for Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology, but it should also abolish the fiction that any admissions process can make sensible choices when the entry pool is so large and the winning candidates so few.

Making exact choices based on inexact information is what data scientists call “spurious precision.” That is what traditionally happens at Thomas Jefferson, where only 19 percent of applicants pass through the entry gates, leaving outside many who would perform at the same or higher levels if given the chance.

When admissions officers are forced to make unreasonably restrictive decisions, their decisions will become arbitrary and unreflective of the community at large. The uncomfortable truth is that

many more students than could fit within the halls of Thomas Jefferson would shine under the close attention and high-quality resources that the school provides.

But given the physical limitations of the facility, how to choose? The best answer is what Superintendent Scott Brabrand has proposed: a first filter, based on a defined level of achievement, to identify a pool of high-potential candidates — and then a lottery.

Let's remove the unfair obligation on Thomas Jefferson admissions officers to make impossibly fine distinctions among a crop of highly talented candidates. Let's recognize that, like all expensive goods, high-quality education has to be rationed somehow.

Sometimes the fairest, and most effective, way to share out limited benefits has to include an element of chance.

Brad Swanson, Vienna

The Washington Post

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COLBERT I. KING

Voter suppression that echoes the KKK and Jim Crow

When it comes to voter suppression, there's not a dime's worth of difference between the goals of the post-Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan and the intention of today's Donald Trump Republicans. Their common endeavor? Make it harder for people of color to vote.

The targets of the Klan then were communities that posed serious political threats. Thus, the KKK concentrated on formerly enslaved Black men, Black elected officials and their supporters, as National Geographic noted.

Today, Trump's Republican allies are targeting communities that are home mainly to people of color.

Of course the difference between the turn of the 20th century and now is a matter of tactics. But let's follow the common thread through American history.

The Klan's calling card was violence rendered in the dark of night by men disguised in white hoods and robes. The primary weapon was fear.

No act of terror went too far. Cross-burning, kidnapping, murder and lynching were deployed to keep Blacks from the polls.

The post-Civil War era also brought forth a group of White people who thought of themselves as "Redeemers" — Southern "patriots" out to rescue Old Dixie from an encroaching federal government, with aims to restore white supremacy and maintain power over Black voters through gerrymandering, electoral intimidation and unfair ballot laws.

The Klan's decline gave rise to Jim Crow laws throughout the South that officially authorized racism in places of public accommodation and placed race-laden roadblocks across paths to the voting booth. That shameful era also birthed the poll tax, literacy tests and the "grandfather clause" that allowed White men who failed literacy tests to vote if their grandfathers had voted by 1867.

The voter suppression tactics of 2020 don't involve the KKK's night rides, it's true, but they are equally focused on controlling Election Day outcomes that favor folks who disfavor folks of color.

Thus, we witness today's purges of voter rolls in Black communities; onerous voter-ID and witness-signature laws; changes to the terms and requirements of voter registration; limitations on polling places; curtailed early voting; and the disenfranchisement of people with felony convictions — even after other voters have affirmed their right to vote.

True, those attacks on voting haven't led to emergency rooms or cemeteries. If allowed to stand, however, such restrictions can be just as effective at stripping electoral power from Black Americans and other people of color.

Voting vandalism is not all that voters of a darker hue must contend with this year. Staring them in the face is the "army" of supporters that President Trump wants to see descend upon polling places to "monitor" voter behavior. The prospect of Trump's unofficial army of thugs lurking around voting precincts may be intimidating enough to scare off some Democratic voters. A depressed turnout among Black voters would spell victory for voter suppression.

Trump's relentless supporters have made surreptitious efforts to suppress the Black vote into an art form. The latest unmasking came with discovery by social media researchers of dozens of fake accounts of supposed Black supporters of Trump that push out to tens of thousands a narrative that attempts to soften Trump's racist image and, by extension, dissuade Black voters from backing Joe Biden and Kamala D. Harris. A non-vote for the Democratic ticket is a vote for Trump and his sidekick, Mike Pence.

Not to be undone, Trump is using the bully pulpit to do his part on behalf of voter suppression. He's using — no, make that abusing — his office as a platform from which to scream bloody murder about the "problem" of voter fraud. In fact, the only fraud being perpetrated is Trump's bogus charge.

Not only is Trump trying to chill turnout, but he is also laying the groundwork for legal challenges of an election he fears losing.

Again, Trump's behavior is tied to the past. He spews the same voter-fraud fiction conjured up during the Reconstruction era to discredit and suppress the votes of newly freed slaves.

A small sample of Trump's tweeted lies on June 22: "RIGGED 2020 ELECTIONS: MILLIONS OF MAIL-IN BALLOTS WILL BE PRINTED BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES, AND OTHERS. IT WILL BE THE SCANDAL OF OUR TIMES."

Don't laugh. The scandal is that Trump and his backers might get away with it — just as the Ku Klux Klan, the Redeemers and Deep South governments suppressed Black voters for generations.

But only, knowing what we know, if we let them.

Folks, it's the 19th century all over again. We must act like we have learned something in the past 150 years. Let no roadblock separate you from your rights. Vote!

kingc@washpost.com

DRAWING BOARD



BY MIKE SMITH FOR THE LAS VEGAS SUN



BY KEITH KNIGHT



BY JOE HELLER



BY DAVE WHAMOND

MEGAN MCARDLE

How a dubious story backfired on Twitter and Facebook

Periodically, it seems that everyone in the public eye, even tech giants, has to rediscover the phenomenon known as the Streisand Effect — the hard way, as Twitter and Facebook are now doing.

The Streisand Effect is named for showbiz legend Barbra Streisand, who noticed, in 2003, that photographer Kenneth Adelman had posted a picture of her Malibu home. Possibly you had never heard of Adelman or his many coastal photographs; most people hadn't. Even fewer knew he'd photographed Streisand's home. But many more certainly knew after Streisand sued Adelman. Before the lawsuit, the images had been downloaded only six times, two of those by her own lawyers. Afterward, the image got hundreds of thousands of visits a month.

On Wednesday, Facebook and Twitter offered a live demonstration of how this effect works. The New York Post published a story based on a trove of leaked emails allegedly found on a laptop belonging to Hunter Biden, son of Joe Biden, the Democratic presidential nominee. The provenance of the emails seems questionable (Russia, murmurs someone to my left), and even if they're real, it's unclear that they tell us anything we didn't already strongly suspect, namely that, like the children of many political figures, Hunter Biden seems to have made every effort to cash in on his last name.

What's missing is evidence that his father participated in this, other than perhaps unwittingly, so the story probably wouldn't have gone anywhere much. But Facebook restricted sharing of the story, and Twitter decided to ban any links to it, then to suspend the accounts of users who had tweeted them — including Jake Sherman of Politico.

"Censorship!" cries the right, even as the left hollers "Twitter's not the government!" But given that Facebook and Twitter actually helped expand the work's audience — however unintentionally — this isn't really a great example of censorship, private or public.

What it does represent is something the right has become keenly alive to: the left's exercise of power over cultural spaces where right-wingers are being driven toward extinction. That power isn't new, of course, but for a long time, its practical effect was mostly a matter of focus, or at worst, as social psychologist Jonathan Haidt puts it, asking "Can I believe it?" about narratives that flattered left-wing views, and "Must I believe it?" about those that favored the right.

More recently, however, in many venues the quiet hegemony of covert decisions has been turning into an explicit regime, confidently exercising its prerogatives. There are a lot of theories about why, and probably there are a lot of actual reasons, too, but clearly, it is happening in spaces that used to brand themselves as neutral. Sure, Twitter insists that the Biden story violated prior policy about publishing potentially hacked materials, lest the platform encourage further malfeasance — but would Twitter apply that standard to the recent New York Times investigation of Trump's tax returns, considering that whoever leaked them to the Times quite possibly committed a federal crime?

Undoubtedly, one factor contributing to this shift is that people who work in all sorts of media companies — social on the West Coast, old-school on the East — believe that they helped propel Trump into the Oval Office. There's enormous pressure, internal and external, not to repeat that mistake. For example, by amplifying stolen emails that could reignite a backburned Democratic scandal right before a presidential election.

I myself am alternately enraged and grieved by our president; I aspire to expedite his exit from the national stage by every legal means. But I do wonder whether the sort of thing we saw this week actually accelerates the arrival of that happy day — or whether the left, like Streisand, might be contributing to the very outcome it most wants to avoid.

Trump has generated unprecedented resistance by openly flouting norms that traditional politicians at worst used to dodge quietly. The members of that resistance have understandably come to believe that more aggressive curbs on conservative "fake news" are a necessary counterweight to the disproportionate political power currently enjoyed by the right, and the thuggish way Trump wields it.

But such actions can only call attention to how lopsided and largely unaccountable the left's own power is in the cultural sphere. There's a reason President Trump likes to spotlight that imbalance, too — and market himself as the necessary corrective. So if you want to hasten him out of office, a preemptive self-balancing, rather than a more muscular tilt, might be the counterweight America actually needs.

Twitter: @asymmetricinfo

ALEXANDRA PETRI

Civics 101: The Amy Coney Barrett hearing edition

Hi there, class! Let's talk about civics. I'm an Unearthly Conglomerate of Sens. Ben Sasse (R-Neb.) and Mike Lee (R-Utah)! You may recall my comments about civics during the Amy Coney Barrett confirmation hearing!

And I'm Susie, a large cartoon bird! We're here to talk to you about the way our democracy works!

Whoa there, Susie. Democracy? Sorry, Unearthly Conglomerate. You're right. This isn't technically a democracy.

Exactly. As I tweeted, "Democracy isn't the objective. Liberty, peace, and prospesity are. We want the human condition to flourish. Rank democracy can thwart that."

What's "prospesity"?

It's something that flourishes when we shut down rank democracy. When the will of the people is too directly represented, we all know that is bad for the human condition. If too many people are allowed to vote, sometimes they will put Democrats in charge. And then those Democrats pass laws that give people too much health-care coverage, which makes America sad.

Shouldn't people get to do that, if they want to? Absolutely not! This is civics, not politics.

Is there a difference? Of course! Politics drives people apart; civics brings them together. Civics means "nonpartisan

things even eighth-graders can agree on." For instance, we can all agree that there are three branches of government: the legislative, the executive and the judicial. One is a group of Republicans who make the laws, one is a godlike being who is perfect, and one interprets the laws to say that he gets to stay in power for as long as he likes and that Obamacare is an unwanted imposition!

So, how does a Supreme Court justice get appointed?

I'm glad you asked, Susie! What happens is that the Republican president nominates a person for the Supreme Court, and the Senate confirms that person right away.

I'm sorry, it sounded like you said a Republican president. I'm confused. Isn't this civics?

Well, the president has to be Republican, Susie. Otherwise we can't be sure he represents the will of the people! Just look at this map. Most of this map is red, and it is important that the biggest land mass possible be heard. People cluster together and make the map blue in certain areas, but that just indicates that they do not want their voices to count very much. Remember, Susie, Supreme Court appointments are for life, so you can't be too careful when picking a new nominee.

Careful, like, don't announce the nominee at a maskless superspreader event?

No, Susie. Careful like you can't pick just anyone!

You have to pick someone who has been endorsed by the Federalist Society. This body was designed by the Founders to pick the best justices possible. That was why they named the Federalist Papers after it.

How can a Democratic president get a justice onto the Supreme Court?

They can't, Susie! There is no legitimate method by which a Democrat can do anything.

If the vacancy happens during an election year, does the president still get to pick a replacement for the seat?

Susie, the principle here is simple. When you're a Republican, they let you do it. If it's during an election year when a Republican is not the president, you wait so that the people's will can be represented. If it's during an election year when a Republican is the president, you rush through the nominee with lightning speed.

While the election is happening? While the election is happening, Susie. The election is just a formality. What people want is not choice, but prospesity.

What if there's a pandemic?

The pandemic is only in your mind, Susie. Look at me! I'm not wearing a mask, and the only positive I feel is positive that we're going to have a new lifetime justice soon.

This seems very fast to get a justice through for a lifetime position. What if people have questions?

They shouldn't have questions. Those questions are probably religious discrimination! That can be the only possible reason you would not want to immediately confirm a new justice to a lifetime appointment during an election during a pandemic against the express wishes of her predecessor. And the Founders hated religious discrimination!

Are we sure that is what they meant?

Absolutely — thanks to a little something called originalism. That's when you stare at the text of the Constitution long enough that Thomas Jefferson's ghost shows up and explains to you exactly what he meant by everything, and why he thinks Obergefell was poorly decided and Obamacare should be dismantled piece by piece.

Oh. And did I mention that this new lifetime justice is a lady? Because I feel like we mention it a lot. And she has a family, which you will get to have. too, probably, in more and more states, whether you are 100 percent sure about it or not!

What if I don't think that's what I want?

The people don't know their own minds. That's why they need the courts to interpret their wishes for them! And their votes. It is very important to get the justice through so that we can have all the prospesity we deserve.

Twitter: @petridishes

High school teacher decapitated in suburban Paris

BY JAMES MCAULEY

PARIS — A high school teacher in a Paris suburb was decapitated Friday afternoon, French authorities said, in an attack that occurred after the teacher had allegedly shown caricatures of the prophet Muhammad to his students.

The attack occurred after 5 p.m. near a school in the Paris suburb of Conflans-Saint-Honorine northwest of Paris, accord-

ing to French news reports. Police shot the suspect in a nearby town, killing him, said French police sources cited in news reports.

France's national anti-terror prosecutor immediately opened an investigation for "murder in connection with a terrorist enterprise" and "criminal terrorist association."

French President Emmanuel Macron later visited the crime scene, and Interior Minister

Gerard Darmanin returned to Paris from an official visit to Morocco.

"They will not pass," Macron said, speaking at the scene. "Obscurantism and the violence that goes with it will not win. They won't divide us."

The victim was identified as a high school history and geography teacher. Parents in the area had recently complained that a local teacher had shown students caricatures of the prophet Mu-

hammad as part of a lesson on freedom of expression, France's BFM television reported.

As authorities worked to establish a more complete picture, the potential motive of seeking revenge for the Muhammad cartoons led investigators to quickly consider the case a terrorist attack, Le Monde reported.

"Tonight, it was the Republic that was attacked with the despicable assassination of one of its servants, a professor," said Edu-

cation Minister Jean-Michel Blanquer.

Friday's attack comes amid the historic trial of 14 alleged accomplices in the January 2015 attack on Charlie Hebdo, a satirical newspaper that had published cartoons that depicted the likeness of Muhammad, which is strictly prohibited by the Muslim faith. The two attackers in the 2015 shooting were recorded saying that they had avenged the prophet as they fled the scene.

Last month, Charlie Hebdo's editors commemorated the beginning of the trial by publishing new cartoons of Muhammad.

Weeks later, two people were stabbed outside the former Paris offices of Charlie Hebdo in an assault that authorities later said had been designed to attack the newspaper's journalists a second time.

Against the backdrop of these attacks, Macron unveiled plans for combating what he called "Islamist separatism" this month. In a long-awaited speech, he called Islam "a religion that is in crisis all over the world," with problems that stem from a "very strong hardening" of positions among Muslims.

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CUSTOM BLINDS, SHADES, SHUTTERS AND DRAPERY



8 a.m.
46°



Noon
58°



4 p.m.
62°



8 p.m.
54°

High today at approx. 4 p.m.
62°
Precip: 0%
Wind: NW 6-12 mph

RELIGION
Evangelical leaders are reliable clientele at the Trump International Hotel in the District. **B2**



VIRGINIA
An immigrant rights coalition is fighting a warrant for information from its Facebook page. **B3**



OBITUARIES
Herbert Kretzmer, 95, was a journalist and wrote the English libretto for “Les Misérables.” **B6**

Prosecutors face big hurdle in Ghaisar killing

BY TOM JACKMAN

Two U.S. Park Police officers fired 10 shots in a span of 25 seconds when they killed unarmed motorist Bijan Ghaisar in 2017. But whether they can be prosecuted in state court, as Fairfax County is seeking to do, will likely involve convincing a federal judge that the shooting was not “necessary and proper,” a standard few state prosecutors have ever met.

On Thursday, Officers Lucas Vinyard and Alejandro Amaya

PARK POLICE OFFICERS MAY HAVE IMMUNITY

‘Necessary and proper’ standard hard to beat

were indicted by a Fairfax County grand jury on one count each of involuntary manslaughter and reckless discharge of a firearm. In November 2017, they shot and killed Ghaisar, 25, as he slowly drove away from them during a traffic stop in the Fort Hunt area of Fairfax. Last year, federal authorities declined to file federal

civil rights charges, so Fairfax Commonwealth’s Attorney Steve T. Descano picked up the case and obtained state criminal charges.

But federal officers are largely exempt from state jurisdiction under the Supremacy Clause of the Constitution, which says that states must defer to federal law.

Descano said Thursday that he anticipated the officers’ lawyers would remove the case to federal court and then invoke the Supremacy Clause in a motion to have the case dismissed. He requested help from Virginia Attorney General Mark R. Herring to argue against the motion, and Herring’s office agreed to take the case. No matter which side prevails in the officers’ case, an appeal is likely.

States have tried to prosecute federal officers before, with little luck. But there has been at least

one judicial finding that federal officers aren’t completely shielded from state prosecution, in the high-profile Ruby Ridge shooting by an FBI agent. And an appeal in the Ghaisar case would go to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit, which in June allowed a lawsuit to proceed against officers with the conclusion about police shootings, “This has to stop.”

Vinyard, 39, and Amaya, 41, who have said they believed Ghaisar’s driving was a danger to

SEE GHAISAR ON B4

Legislators finish work on Virginia budget

Police oversight also an issue during special session, now concluded

BY GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER AND LAURA VOZZELLA

RICHMOND — Virginia’s General Assembly wrapped up work Friday on the state’s pandemic-damaged budget and concluded an extraordinary special session in which lawmakers also passed sweeping measures to overhaul criminal justice and police oversight.

Fittingly for a session that convened Aug. 18 and dragged on far longer than expected, though, it still won’t technically be adjourned. A dispute among Democrats over language in the budget will leave that document incomplete until after next month’s elections.

The Senate passed the budget on a bipartisan 23-to-15 vote late Friday afternoon, with the House of Delegates following suit later, approving the spending plan on a bipartisan vote of 63 to 35. The action came on the 60th calendar day of the unusual gathering, making it nearly as long as the regular legislative session the General Assembly held earlier this year.

“Though it has taken a number of weeks to get here, this is still a great budget for the people of the commonwealth,” said state Sen. Janet D. Howell (D-Fairfax), chairwoman of the Senate Finance and Appropriations Committee.

“Together with our colleagues in the Senate, Virginia is now a national leader in the effort to

SEE VIRGINIA ON B4

Democrats in Va. are winning money race

BY MEAGAN FLYNN

Democrats in the most closely watched Virginia congressional districts came out on top in the latest fundraising reports, with significant cash-on-hand advantages as they head into the final stretch of the campaign.

Reps. Abigail Spanberger and Elaine Luria, Democrats who flipped red districts in 2018, each outraised her Republican challenger by hundreds of thousands of dollars, according to third-quarter campaign finance reports that were due Thursday night to the Federal Election Commission.

But the most notable disparity came in the historically red 5th District, where Democrat Cameron Webb took in \$2.7 million, more than three times the \$722,000 raised by Republican Bob Good. With less than three weeks until Election Day, Webb has roughly \$1.2 million on hand compared with Good’s \$380,855.

In the wake of Democratic gains in Virginia two years ago — Rep. Jennifer Wexton also flipped a seat blue — the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) and the GOP-backed Congressional Leadership Fund have been spending money and resources as Republicans try to regain ground and claw the momentum back.

Nonpartisan analysts predict that Wexton’s 10th District seat is safe for Democrats this cycle, a testament to how much Northern Virginia has shifted politically.

SEE CAMPAIGNS ON B4



PHOTOS BY MARVIN JOSEPH/THE WASHINGTON POST

Homecoming, at a safe distance

This year’s traditional convergence at Howard University is virtual, but the collegiate camaraderie remains real

BY LAUREN LUMPKIN, DANIELLE DOUGLAS-GABRIEL AND JOE HEIM

Homecoming at Howard University is many things. There’s a football game, yes, but alumni say the annual event is so much more.

It’s a pilgrimage, returning to events year after year and never tiring of watching your classmates get grayer. It’s the memories made snapping pictures at Yardfest while waiting for the concert to start. It’s grabbing a stranger’s shoulders in celebration and swag-surfing.

“It’s a beautiful experience,” said Nwaji Jibunoh, who graduated from Howard in 2001 with a degree in business management, “to be around some of the most beautiful Black people in the

SEE HOMECOMING ON B8



TOP: Omega Psi Phi fraternity members and alumni dance during 2016’s Yardfest at Howard University. This year’s homecoming festivities will be virtual. ABOVE: Josh Howard during Yardfest in 2016.

New cases in region

Through 5 p.m. Friday, 2,053 new coronavirus cases were reported in the District, Maryland and Virginia, bringing the total number of cases to 314,708.

D.C.	MD.	VA.
+89	+781	+1,183
16,255	134,329	164,124

Coronavirus-related deaths

As of 5 p.m. Friday:

D.C.	MD.*	VA.
+3	+4	+20
641	4,032	3,408

* Includes probable covid-19 deaths

Lingerie shop closes after 45 years of empowering women

BY EMILY DAVIES

Behind almost every state dinner appearance, prom picture or performance at the Kennedy Center, there is a bra perfectly tailored to the occasion. For 45 years, a Washington-area boutique has served as a one-stop undergarment shop for the D.C. elite and its breast cancer survivors.

But on Saturday, to the dismay of its loyal customers, Sylene of Washington will close its doors for the final time.

“The whole thing is very emotional,” said Cyla Weiner, who co-owns the boutique with her sister, Helen Kestler. “But at this point in our lives, we are both ready for a second act.”

It is rare for any independent

Sylene made a name serving cancer survivors, high-profile customers

lingerie store to have flourished through generations of evolving beauty standards and gender norms. Giants like Victoria’s Secret crumbled under the shift from hypersexuality to body positivity and face competition from new brands marketing inclusion and confidence. But Sylene has always sold lingerie as a tool for self-love, even in the days when it stocked bullet bras and hosted “men’s nights” with an open bar for those shopping for their significant others.

When Sylene first opened in 1975, the sisters say, it was rare for a woman to talk about purchasing her own lingerie. It was even more unusual for a woman who had undergone treatment for breast cancer to feel empowered when shopping for intimate apparel. Weiner and Kestler didn’t know it then, but the culture they would foster on an unremarkable block in Bethesda (and then near Friendship Heights, when they moved locations years later) would act as a place of quiet resistance to the culture of shame around female sexuality, attracting customers including first lady Nancy Reagan and newscaster Connie Chung.

“When you have lived in Washington, you know Sylene,” Chung

SEE SYLENE ON B5



Helen Kestler prepares to sort and ship orders at Sylene in Chevy Chase, Md. Her sister, Cyla Weiner, works behind her.

BONNIE JO MOUNT/THE WASHINGTON POST

RELIGION

Evangelical leaders are reliable clientele at Trump hotel

BY SARAH PULLIAM BAILEY

President Trump's Washington hotel, where the average guest pays about \$650 per night, has served as an epicenter of conservative politics during his administration.

And among its high-profile visitors are the president's evangelical advisers, according to records obtained by The Washington Post. They include James Dobson, a co-founder of Focus on the Family; John Hagee, head of Christians United for Israel; and evangelist Franklin Graham. The historic building that includes the old post office and clock tower completed in 1899 has also hosted several high-profile religious events since Trump took office as well as less formal gathering, such as meetings of the president's unofficial group of faith advisers.

It's unclear how much evangelical leaders have spent at the hotel in total in the past four years, but they are a reliable clientele for the hotel, which has been struggling financially and was running about half empty even before the coronavirus pandemic began. Asked how they came to stay there, they offered a variety of answers, ranging from convenience to social comfort.

Jerry Falwell Jr., former president of Liberty University, said he stayed there for a gala for the opening of the Museum of the Bible in 2017 and has eaten in the lobby's restaurant several times because he is fond of seafood as well as the establishment's owner. "It's like supporting a friend," said Falwell, who was one of Trump's earliest supporters. When he was president of Liberty, the university would pay for his travel, he said. "It's not like they're giving us better rates. We pay full price."

Robert Jeffress, who is pastor of First Baptist Church, a prominent Southern Baptist Church in Dallas, said he has stayed at the hotel about a dozen times since it opened and gets a discount because he is a regular customer. He said his choice of hotel, which his church pays for, has nothing to do with his support for the president and comes down to one factor: its proximity to the White House. "It's ridiculous to think that the president could be swayed . . . by where guests stay," he said.

J.D. Greear, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, stayed in the hotel for one night in August 2018 when he was in town



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

The Trump International Hotel in Northwest Washington, where the average guest pays \$650 per night, has been patronized by several high-profile evangelical leaders. Parishioners often foot the bill for stays at the hotel Jerry Falwell Jr. called a conservative "oasis."

for a White House dinner for religious leaders, a trip that was paid for by his North Carolina church, the Summit. Greear's spokesman Todd Unzicker said Greear had booked an Airbnb but decided to switch to the Trump hotel because he could meet with other pastors staying there and because he thought it had a good space to record a video for his ministry. "It's like the convention hotel," Unzicker said. "It's convenient."

Tennessee megachurch pastor Steve Gaines, who was serving as president of the SBC at the time when his wife stayed there for two nights in May 2018, said they received a discounted rate around the National Day of Prayer. "I just saw it as a hotel," he said. "I stayed in a Holiday Inn Express last week. I don't have to have a fancy hotel. My dad was a railroader, my mom was janitor. I'm cool anywhere. If there was a Clinton hotel, I wouldn't have cared." Gaines said that his church Bellevue Baptist Church paid for the hotel.

Bill Dallas, who runs a nonprofit called United for Purpose, said

that he picks between four or five hotels in the city simply based on the price for what he's getting. "We take pride in scoring a great hotel room at a discounted price," said Dallas, who organized a high-profile gathering of nearly 1,000 evangelical leaders with Trump before his election in 2016. "It's not like people get a break because it's a Christian organization. It's about the quality and pricing."

Dallas, whose nonprofit pays for his travel, said they got much better deals about 18 months ago when it was a five-star hotel instead of six. "I need a soft bed, and I need natural light in the morning," he said. "So, the name 'Trump,' for me, has zero bearing on it."

According to internal hotel records obtained by The Post, the hotel has also attracted the family of Hagee, a controversial pastor of a nondenominational megachurch pastor in San Antonio. In 2008, then-presidential candidate John McCain rejected Hagee's endorsement after a recording was published where Hagee

suggested the Nazis were fulfilling God's will by hastening the Jews to return to Israel. A decade later, in May 2018, Hagee was chosen to deliver a benediction at a ceremony for Trump's relocation of the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem. A spokesman for Hagee declined to comment, citing security concerns.

According to records from 2017, Dobson stayed in the hotel. A spokesman for Dobson declined to comment.

Graham held a banquet at the hotel in 2017 for a conference on Christian persecution and reserved rooms for some guests. According to a New York Times report about Trump's tax returns, Graham's ministry — the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association — paid at least \$397,602 to the Washington hotel, where the group held at least one event during its four-day World Summit in Defense of Persecuted Christians. A spokesman for Graham said that the evangelist also stayed at the hotel after his father, Billy Graham, died and was honored at the Capitol Rotunda in 2018.

Pastors who stay in luxury hotels might get a variety of reactions from parishioners who often pay their salaries and cover their travel expense, said Rusty Leonard, who founded a group called Stewardship Partners and has been a financial watchdog of many evangelical ministries. "A pastor's need to stay in a five-star hotel probably isn't the highest need in the world," Leonard said. For many churches, which do not have to file 990s like other tax-exempt organizations, Leonard says there can be less oversight over finances.

But followers of prosperity gospel, which teaches that God will bless followers with health and wealth, might want Florida megachurch pastor Paula White, a friend of Trump's who stays in the hotel, to stay in a nice place. "Prosperity theology has to be demonstrated by the preacher, and people soak it up. They aspire to live the same kind of life," Leonard said. "If you stay at the Hampton Inn, they might say, 'What's gotten into her?'"

Michael Wear, who handled re-

ligious outreach for President Barack Obama's 2012 campaign, said that during the Obama administration, the more progressive religious leaders who visited the White House for Easter and Christmas functions often stayed at the Hay-Adams or the Jefferson, which would have comparable rates.

"Some people could make the critique that they should be staying at a Holiday Inn. I don't think that," he said. "I do think it's interesting that you'd find pastors in Trump International Hotel for the same reason that lobbyists do: to catch a glimpse of power and access."

While some might question the extravagance, others will see it as part of a bigger strategy toward power and influence in Washington, said John Fea, a historian at Messiah College, a Christian college in Pennsylvania. "You want to have a story to tell your congregation to show how important you are, to show you have the ear of power," he said. "It sends a message that these are people who are part of the power elite in the country. They are shaping the president's agenda in some ways."

Some evangelical leaders likened being there to feeling part of the club. Falwell referred to it as "an oasis" for conservatives. He mentioned seeing former New York mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani there once. White, who oversees Trump's Faith and Opportunity Initiative at the White House; author and radio host Eric Metaxas; and Gary Bauer, a Trump-appointed commissioner on the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, have also been spotted there. (They declined to comment on their visits to the hotel.)

Another evangelical leader, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because it could jeopardize his job, said the hotel has become so closely associated with conservatives that he no longer goes there because he strives to be seen as bipartisan, but he understands the desire to be around like-minded brethren: "Frankly, a lot of evangelicals have felt very much under assault ideologically. There's an element of feeling physically safe and liking being around people you recognize."

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David Fahrenthold contributed to this report.

Barrett's People of Praise has a complicated relationship with Catholicism

BY MICHELLE BOORSTEIN

Supporters of Supreme Court nominee Amy Coney Barrett charge that questions about her faith are anti-Catholic. But the relationship between People of Praise — the small Christian community Barrett has belonged to since birth — and Catholics has not been seamless.

A drumbeat of members who have left since People of Praise's founding in 1971 said they felt the group was not sufficiently Catholic or had teachings or practices that went against the church, according to letters they sent to bishops and interviews with The Washington Post.

People of Praise is an ecumenical lay group, although most of its members identify as Catholic. Barrett has not spoken about her Catholic faith or her lifetime membership in People of Praise, and during her confirmation hearings, she sought to reassure lawmakers of her independence, saying she keeps her "personal moral religious views" distinct from the "task of applying law as a judge."

The group's spokesman, Sean Connolly, has declined interview requests about Barrett and would not confirm her membership. The group has removed many references to Barrett and her family from its website and declined requests to make most of its teachings public.

Her largely Republican supporters in Congress, however, brought up Barrett's faith themselves during her Senate Judiciary Committee hearings this week, conflating questions raised about People of Praise with criticism of Catholicism.

"When you tell somebody that they're too Catholic to be on the bench, when you tell them they're going to be a Catholic judge, not an American judge, that's the bigotry," Sen. Josh Hawley (R-Mo.) said during Monday's hearing.

People of Praise, which has about 1,700 members worldwide, is what is called a "covenant community" and is not part of the



ANNA MONEYMAKER

Amy Coney Barrett on Wednesday during her Senate confirmation hearings on Capitol Hill. She said she keeps her "personal moral religious views" distinct from the "task of applying law as a judge."

Catholic Church. Its core is that members make commitments to one another, to shared values and practices and to submission to authority. It is the product of a period in American religion when big denominations such as the Catholic Church were being rattled and transformed by the social upheaval of the 1960s. There were calls for more-experiential faith, with more-contemporary music, deeper interpersonal connection and higher intensity. That period opened a discussion that is still going on in the Catholic Church about how much transparency and power-sharing clergy members are required to give and who gets to define "Catholic."

The "Who we are" page on People of Praise's website says members are expected to remain "faithful members of our own churches" and to follow their consciences, reason and "the teachings of their churches."

For some Catholics, joining lay communities such as People of Praise has resulted in a richer

faith life. Barrett's father, Mike Coney, is a deacon in Louisiana. In a 2018 letter to his parish in Metairie, La., he described why he and his wife joined People of Praise.

"We felt a call to live life in a close knit Christian community, one like that described in the Acts of the Apostles, one that would help form our children into good Christians and strengthen our marriage and family," he wrote. "In this ecumenical community my faith has been nourished and my commitment to my friend Christ has grown deeper and stronger and has borne good fruit."

People of Praise co-founder Kevin Ranaghan retired as a deacon in Indiana last year.

But in letters to bishops, some former members of People of Praise have said the group's practices led to a kind of authoritarianism, intense groupthink and gender dynamics that they saw as contradicting their Catholic faith. In those letters and in interviews with The Post, they recalled being

told by group leaders not to speak in confidence during confession or to priests. Others say some of the group's teachings about women's roles go against Catholic teachings.

Adrian Reimers, a founding People of Praise member, and his wife, Marie, wrote in a 1985 letter to Bishop William McManus that People of Praise's leaders were taking the group "in a way that deviates from sound Catholic teaching and practice and which is, in fact, harmful to people."

According to the letters, leaders told some People of Praise members not to "take problems and questions" to priests in the confessional and Adrian Reimers was told it was unwise to "seek counsel and advice from priests."

The Reimerses declined to comment for this article, except for Adrian saying he is concerned about anti-Catholic bias in the Barrett hearings.

In 1991, another former member, John Ferrone, wrote to ask John D'Arcy, then the bishop of Fort Wayne, Ind., to "deal with the

community," saying that the group did "not represent most of the normal people involved in renewal" and that the "power leaders sought over others has corrupted" any initial desire to boost the Catholic Church.

McManus and D'Arcy have since died. It is not clear what, if anything, Catholic clergy members ever did in connection with the complaints. Dioceses contacted for this article declined to comment except to say that as an ecumenical group, People of Praise is not part of the church and, hence, they have no jurisdiction over them.

Connolly, the group's spokesman, wrote in an email that he personally has always been encouraged by group leaders to participate in the sacraments — core rites of Catholicism that include confession. "Each person is always responsible for his or her own decisions, including decisions in their personal lives or careers, and no community member should ever violate his or her conscience," he wrote.

He also shared a 2008 letter from Francis George, who was then the president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops and Chicago's archbishop, to a priest in Washington state who was in People of Praise and wanted a letter of endorsement for the group's website. "In my acquaintance with the People of Praise, I have found men and women dedicated to God and eager to seek and do His divine will," George's letter reads. "They are shaped by love of Holy Scripture, prayer and community; and the Church's mission is richer for their presence."

George helped a special group for men from People of Praise who wanted to pursue becoming Catholic priests, Connolly said.

While wary initially, the Catholic Church has come to mostly embrace groups such as People of Praise, said Thomas Csordas, an anthropologist at the University of California at San Diego who studies Catholic communities that are charismatic. Charismatic

faith is more spirited and expressive and seeks concrete signs of the Holy Spirit, such as faith healing and speaking in tongues.

"Although they have this theologically radical blend of Pentecostalism and Catholicism, they have a socially conservative outlook," Csordas said. "That's one thing that has appealed to the church and allowed it to embrace them." Embracing charismatic communities also allows the church to "compete" in developing countries with Pentecostalism, he said.

Some bishops and priests still keep charismatic covenant groups at arm's length because of discomfort with their worship style or because their authority structure requires submission to leaders that to some seems unhealthy.

"Some priests don't like it or don't allow it, and some bishops are still nervous for the same reasons — that this isn't particularly Catholic or doesn't match their spiritual style or because the prayer leader becomes much more possessive," said Tim Matovina, a theology professor at the University of Notre Dame who specializes in faith and culture, including charismatic Catholicism. "All of a sudden, [there is] a lay person who is not theologically trained but acts as if the Holy Spirit is speaking through them — their rival teaching can become a rival to the bishop. Whether they intend it or not, a personality cult can come into it."

Pope Francis, who identifies with charismatic worship and has encouraged charismatic renewal, created a special liaison body for charismatic Catholics. Peter Smith, bishop in Portland, Ore., and a member of People of Praise, is the North American representative, Connolly said.

Francis in 2014 warned new lay groups not to become abusive, telling them, "We need to resist the temptation of usurping individual freedom, of directing them without allowing for their growth."

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MARYLAND

Hogan signs order allowing fans at NFL stadiums

BY OVETTA WIGGINS
AND RACHEL CHASON

Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan (R) on Friday signed an executive order easing restrictions for outdoor sporting and entertainment venues, including at FedEx Field in Prince George's County and M&T Bank Stadium in Baltimore, but apparently didn't consult with local officials before allowing up to 10 percent capacity at the NFL stadiums.

"With our key health metrics low and stable, we are taking steps to allow more spectators, including fans of the Baltimore Ravens and the Washington Football Team, to safely attend games in the stands," Hogan said in a statement.

That doesn't mean football fans will be sitting in the stands anytime soon.

Throughout the pandemic, Hogan has given local governments the power to decide the pace of their reopening and, for the most part, jurisdictions in the Washington region have moved slower than the state. Baltimore and Prince George's County officials said Friday that they were reviewing the governor's order.

James E. Bentley II, a spokesman for Baltimore Mayor Ber-



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

FedEx Field in Landover, Md., could welcome more than cardboard cutout fans after Gov. Larry Hogan's executive order Friday.

nard C. "Jack" Young (D), said city officials learned about the executive order through Hogan's news release.

"The city would have to approve attendance," he said. "We're discussing it now. . . . We were not given a heads-up about this."

According to the Baltimore City Health Department, the city in the past month has had a 10 percent increase in cases.

Baltimore is operating at Phase 2, with indoor dining, religious facilities and indoor recreation facilities open at 50 percent capacity.

Prince George's is also in the second phase of its recovery.

Gina Ford, a spokeswoman for County Executive Angela D. Alsobrooks (D), said in a statement, "We are reviewing the governor's order and our health officials will be in conversation with the

"We were not given a heads-up about this."

James E. Bentley II, spokesman for Baltimore Mayor Bernard C. "Jack" Young, on Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan's executive order that allows 10 percent capacity at NFL stadiums

Washington Football Team to determine next steps."

The governor's order came as caseloads in Maryland, Virginia and D.C. topped the 2,000 mark Friday for the second time this month, and as the Washington area continues to see an elevated number of new infections, mirroring a national rise.

The greater Washington region Friday reported 2,053 new cases and 27 new deaths. Virginia added 1,183 cases and 20 deaths, Maryland added 781 cases and four deaths, and the District added 89 cases and three deaths. That's the most deaths in a single day in D.C. since Sept. 9.

The seven-day rolling average of new cases across Virginia, Maryland and D.C. stood at 1,723, compared with about 1,300 to start the month.

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MARYLAND

Man who died in police custody is identified

BY KATIE METTLER

The 29-year-old who died in the custody of Hyattsville police Wednesday has been identified as Edwin Morales of Mount Rainier.

Morales was in handcuffs when he became unresponsive after struggling to breathe, said the Prince George's County Police Department, which is investigating his death. Hyattsville police said officers performed CPR on Morales but he later died at a hospital.

Hyattsville police said they were called to the Riverdale Park area after a 64-year-old man reported his bike had been stolen. Authorities said they found Morales fleeing on the bike in the 5900 block of Baltimore Avenue.

During a "brief pursuit," Morales jumped off the bike and ran before he fell down twice and eventually tumbled into a wooded area, police said.

Police said officers handcuffed Morales and called an ambulance

because they suspected "unknown drug intoxication."

"While waiting for an ambulance, officers closely monitored the suspect's condition" and "when he became unresponsive, officers immediately unhandcuffed him and began CPR," Hyattsville police said.

Officers "briefly revived" Morales before he was taken to a hospital.

When asked whether force was used during Morales's detainment, Hyattsville police said in a statement that body-camera footage shows an officer swinging a baton at the man's leg during the foot chase, but it appears it did not make contact or cause him to fall.

In a news release Friday, county police said internal affairs investigators are "reviewing all evidence related to the incident, including video, and awaiting the results of an autopsy to determine how Morales died."

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LOCAL DIGEST

THE DISTRICT

Street closures expected for the Women's March

BY JUSTIN GEORGE

Several D.C. streets will prohibit parking while others will be closed entirely to motor vehicles Saturday for the annual Women's March, which is expected to draw thousands to Freedom Plaza, the U.S. Capitol, the Supreme Court and the Mall.

The D.C. march is one of at least 425 such events taking place across the country and will start at 11 a.m. at Freedom Plaza and end at the Mall about 5 p.m.

The march takes place days before an expected U.S. Senate vote on the nomination of federal appeals court judge Amy Coney Barrett to the U.S. Supreme Court and less than three weeks before the Nov. 3 presidential election. Participants are expected to protest the nomination of Barrett, who would replace the late justice and feminist icon Ruth Bader Ginsburg, and the reelection campaign of President Trump.

Metro is planning regular Saturday service on Metrorail and Metrobus, transit agency officials said. But motorists should be aware of potential street closures

and delays. D.C. police said parking will be prohibited from 6 a.m. until 6 p.m. on the following streets: 14th Street NW between Pennsylvania Avenue and F Street

Participants are expected to protest the nomination of Judge Amy Coney Barrett to replace the late justice and feminist icon Ruth Bader Ginsburg.

NW; 13th Street NW between Pennsylvania Avenue and F Street NW; Pennsylvania Avenue NW between 15th Street and Third Street NW; Constitution Avenue NW between Third Street and Louisiana Avenue NW; E Street NW between 14th Street and 12th Street NW; Third Street NW between C Street and Independence

Avenue SW; Fourth Street NW between Pennsylvania Avenue and Independence Avenue SW; Sixth Street NW between Pennsylvania Avenue and Constitution Avenue NW; and Seventh Street NW between Pennsylvania Avenue and Independence Avenue SW.

All vehicles parked in violation of emergency "no parking" signs will be ticketed and towed, police said.

Streets closed to traffic from 9 a.m. until 2 p.m. include: 14th Street NW between Constitution Avenue and F Street NW; 13th Street NW between Pennsylvania Avenue and F Street NW; E Street NW between 14th Street and 12th Street NW; Pennsylvania Avenue NW between 15th Street and 12th Street NW.

Police said intermittent closures could occur between noon and 3 p.m. on several streets based on the march's route. They include: Pennsylvania Avenue NW between 12th Street and Third Street NW; Constitution Avenue NW between Third Street and Second Street NE; Louisiana Avenue NW between Constitu-

tion Avenue and C Street NW; First Street SE between Constitution Avenue and Independence Avenue SW; Third Street NW between C Street and Independence Avenue SW; Fourth Street NW between Pennsylvania Avenue and Independence Avenue SW; Sixth Street NW between E Street and Constitution Avenue NW; Seventh Street NW between E Street and Constitution Avenue NW; Ninth Street NW between E Street and Constitution Avenue NW; 10th Street NW between E Street and Constitution Avenue NW; 11th Street NW between E Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW; and 12th Street NW between E Street and Constitution Avenue NW.

An opening rally will be held at Freedom Plaza at noon. The march will begin at 1 p.m., moving along Pennsylvania Avenue NW toward the U.S. Capitol. Marchers will circle the Capitol on Constitution Avenue NW, First Street NE — passing the Supreme Court — and Independence Avenue SW before marching up Third Street SW and arriving at the Mall.

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VIRGINIA

Immigrant rights group fights 'excessive' warrant

BY JUSTIN JOUVENAL

After someone painted a slogan on the sidewalk outside the home of Virginia Attorney General Mark R. Herring during a September protest, Leesburg police launched a criminal investigation into the immigrant rights coalition that organized it, court records state.

Investigators claim in a search warrant that Free Them All VA briefly posted on its Facebook page photos and video showing the perpetrators of the misdemeanor crime.

But the search warrant authorities filed went beyond seeking just that visual evidence. Authorities asked for virtually all of the Facebook page's content over a five-day period, a move the group says would give law enforcement access to sensitive information about undocumented immigrants and their families, confidential health reports, and complaints by name about specific law enforcement and immigration officers.

Free Them All VA says it worries the information could be forwarded to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement and result in deportations or retaliation against immigrants in custody.

This week, Public Citizen, a watchdog group, filed a motion to quash the search warrant on behalf of Free Them All VA, saying that it violated members' constitutional rights against unreasonable search and that the overly broad warrant could chill their free speech rights.

Paul Alan Levy, an attorney for Public Citizen, said it's unclear whether Leesburg police didn't think about how broad their search warrant was or whether

the move was intentional, but either way it set a bad precedent.

"This is so low on the scale of what you think enforcement priorities ought to be in this day and age that almost any search warrant that was issued, you would wonder what's going on," Levy said. "If they were just after the video of the demonstration, I wouldn't have objected. But they are plainly after more. . . . It's excessive."

Leesburg police issued a statement in response to questions from The Washington Post that said the search warrant affidavit was a typical one.

"All Virginia search warrants, inclusive of the one that you are inquiring about, are reviewed and signed off by either a Magistrate or a Judge based on legal criteria," the statement said. "The language contained in the search warrant and affidavit is consistent with the execution of social media site search warrants. This remains an active investigation."

Free Them All VA, a coalition of 14 groups, focuses on issues facing immigrants in detention. It organized the Sept. 11 protest outside Herring's home to highlight the plight of detainees at the Farmville detention center, which over the summer had what was then the nation's worst coronavirus outbreak at an immigration facility.

To date, nearly 340 immigrants have had the novel coronavirus at Farmville and one has died, according to ICE statistics.

The protest was organized the same day The Post reported the massive outbreak began after a Trump administration flew detainees to Virginia to facilitate the rapid deployment of federal agents to help quell protests in

D.C. over the killing of George Floyd. The agents were aboard the same flights.

During the protest on the evening of Sept. 11, someone wrote on a public sidewalk "Free Them All" in blue letters in Spanish and English, police said. The demonstration was livestreamed on the Free Them All VA Facebook page.

A Leesburg detective wrote in the search warrant that the paint was permanent and had to be professionally removed, costing less than \$1,000. In Virginia, destruction of property that amounts to less than \$1,000 is a misdemeanor.

The search warrant filed Sept. 15 in Loudoun County Circuit Court sought information about the page's subscribers, including phone numbers, addresses, credit card information and IP addresses, as well as all posted content, messages, chats, photos, videos and deleted materials from the Facebook page from Sept. 10 to Sept. 15.

Free Them All VA said the search warrant was problematic because it gets sensitive questions and reports from undocumented immigrants sent to the Facebook page, including from the families of those in custody.

Loudoun County Commonwealth's Attorney Buta Biberaj would issue any response to the motion to quash, Levy said. Biberaj wrote in an email Thursday she has not yet reviewed the motion, so couldn't comment on it immediately.

Free Them All Va said in a statement that the search warrant was a "clear abuse of power."

"Giving the police unlimited access to information about members of our community would encourage further viola-

tions of the 4th amendment, mapping and targeting of Black, Indigenous and People of Color community members, and strengthen suppression tactics used to shift focus from the violence perpetrated by the state on our community," the statement said.

Free Them All VA staged the protest at Herring's home because it wants him to order inspections of the Farmville facility. Herring's office said in a statement that he was troubled by the Trump administration's immigration policy. Herring is not involved in the destruction of property investigation.

"AG Herring believes everyone has the right to demonstrate, protest, and make their voices heard and it's important to do so now more than ever," the statement said. "From our perspective, the matter was resolved that night as soon as they finished their event."

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MARYLAND

Footage released in Gucci outlet burglary

Detectives in Montgomery County released surveillance video of three thieves who broke through the front window of a Gucci outlet in Clarksburg and stole more than \$35,000 in merchandise.

At about 3 a.m. Monday, the three cut a hole through the glass and burst inside, video shows. The footage then shows them in the store stuffing purses into trash bags or bundling them in their arms.

Police asked anyone with information about the thieves or break-in to call 240-773-6237 or 866-411-TIPS (8477).

— Dan Morse

Man fatally shot in Fort Washington

A man was fatally shot in Prince George's County on Thursday.

Brandon Jamal Pierce, 24, was found around 9:45 p.m. in the 4500 block of Lujean Lane near Temple Hill Road in Fort Washington, police said.

Officials said detectives do not think the shooting was random.

— Dana Hedgpeth

Seven people shot, wounded in Baltimore

Seven people were shot and wounded in Baltimore in what may be separate shootings, police said.

Officers received calls about five gunshot victims arriving at a hospital Thursday night, the Baltimore Police Department said in a statement. That

happened a few minutes after police found two victims with gunshot wounds when they were responding to a call about a shooting.

It was not clear whether the incidents are related. The victims were all treated for non-life-threatening injuries.

— Associated Press

VIRGINIA

Officials: Man stopped gas station robbery

Authorities in Virginia say a "brave Samaritan" inflicted life-threatening injuries on the suspect in a gas station robbery despite being pistol-whipped.

The Roanoke Times reports that Pulaski County Commonwealth's Attorney Justin Griffith issued a news release Thursday that praised the man who stopped the alleged armed robbery. Griffith said the man would not be charged but the suspect would be.

— Associated Press

THE DISTRICT

Mail truck taken, chase ensues in Northwest

A U.S. Postal Service mail truck was taken Friday night in Northwest, touching off a brief pursuit, D.C. police said.

The truck was taken about 6:50 p.m. in the 700 block of Quebec Place NW, said Officer Hugh Carew, a police spokesman. He said it was recovered soon after at 9th and Varnum streets NW. The sites are both in Petworth.

Carew said a woman was taken into custody in the incident. No motive could be learned.

— Martin Weil

LOTTERIES

Results from Oct. 16

DISTRICT

Day/DC-3: 7-3-0
DC-4: 8-9-4-9
DC-5: 6-9-3-7-6
Night/DC-3 (Thu.): 8-8-2
DC-3 (Fri.): 8-1-0
DC-4 (Thu.): 8-7-2-7
DC-4 (Fri.): 6-8-4-6
DC-5 (Thu.): 4-0-4-2-8
DC-5 (Fri.): 2-5-1-8-8

MARYLAND

Day/Pick 3: 8-8-3
Pick 4: 4-5-8-1
Night/Pick 3 (Thu.): 8-7-9
Pick 3 (Fri.): 5-1-3
Pick 4 (Thu.): 9-6-1-4
Pick 4 (Fri.): 5-6-1-8
Multi-Match (Thu.): 6-7-12-13-29-31
Match 5 (Thu.): 9-12-15-24-31 *14
Match 5 (Fri.): 4-14-24-28-37 *22
5 Card Cash: 2H-9S-3H-6C-QC

VIRGINIA

Day/Pick-3: 0-4-8
Pick-4: 5-0-1-2
Cash-5 (Fri.): 6-12-15-17-24
Night/Pick-3 (Thu.): 9-2-8
Pick-3 (Fri.): 2-3-1
Pick-4 (Thu.): 1-5-8-8
Pick-4 (Fri.): 2-5-3-9
Cash-5 (Thu.): 6-16-24-29-30
Cash-5 (Fri.): 2-16-20-25-33

MULTI-STATE GAMES

Mega Millions: 27-32-50-52-57 **12
Megaplier: 5x
Cash 4 Life: 1-2-20-36-37 *1
Lucky for Life: 4-14-27-44-47 *11

*Bonus Ball **Mega Ball
*Cash Ball *Lucky Ball

For late drawings and other results, check [washingtonpost.com/local/lottery](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/lottery)

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Prosecuting officers in Ghaisar slaying faces legal hurdle

GHAISAR FROM B1

them or others, had not yet surrendered on warrants as of Friday afternoon. “We are not giving them any preferential treatment,” said Antonio Peronace, a spokesman for the Fairfax prosecutor. “We have entered the warrants, they are active, and we fully expect that they will be in custody soon.”

It was not immediately clear Friday who was representing the officers. The lawyers who represented Vinyard during the two-year FBI investigation of the shooting, David Schertler and Danny Onorato, said Friday they were no longer Vinyard’s counsel, and Kobie Flowers, who represented Amaya, declined to comment. The U.S. attorney’s office in Alexandria declined to comment on whether it might defend the officers. The officers have been working on paid administrative duty since April 2018, but the Park Police refused Friday to say whether Vinyard and Amaya were still on the job.

It’s also not clear what effect the indictments will have on the civil suit the Ghaisar family has pending against the Park Police, which is scheduled for trial next month. The government previously requested a stay of the trial, pending resolution of any criminal case in Fairfax, but Senior U.S. District Judge Claude M. Hilton denied that request. Now charges have been filed. Federal attorneys have not made another request for a postponement, and Hilton is considering motions for summary judgment in the case from both sides, with a hearing scheduled for Friday.



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Supporters of Bijan Ghaisar hand out photos and signs at a Lincoln Memorial vigil in 2019, following a Justice Department decision not to charge the U.S. Park Police officers who fatally shot him.

The legal criteria for overcoming the Supremacy Clause have been made clear in a series of cases dating to the 19th century, when the logic held that unruly state authorities were trying to overstep their bounds. “Providing a federal forum protects federal officers,” former solicitor general Seth Waxman and Cornell law professor Trevor W. Morrison wrote in 2003, “from state courts’ potential hostility to federal policies and institutions.”

Once in federal court, the federal officers must show that they were authorized to act under federal law, and did “no more than what was necessary and proper for him to do,” according to a ruling first issued in 1890. For conduct to be “necessary and

proper,” the officer must believe that their actions were “objectively reasonable.”

These criteria were put to the test most recently in Texas, when an Austin police officer, deputized as an FBI task force agent, shot and killed an unarmed man during a scuffle in 2013. The officer, Charles Kleinert, said that he had been chasing the man while holding a gun, caught him, and when he struck the man in the back while they were wrestling, the gun went off and killed Larry Jackson Jr.

The Travis County district attorney obtained a manslaughter indictment for Kleinert in 2014. Kleinert’s lawyers removed the case to federal court, where a judge ruled that Kleinert’s “ac-

tions were no more than what was necessary and proper to detain and arrest Jackson,” and dismissed the case. The Travis County prosecutor, Rosemary Lehmberg, appealed to the 5th Circuit and lost again, with the court ruling that Kleinert “satisfied each element of the Supremacy Clause immunity analysis.”

Travis County hired former Texas Supreme Court chief justice Wallace B. Jefferson to appeal the Kleinert case to the U.S. Supreme Court. He said they “argued that the subjective standard was itself wrong because it was premised on outdated case law, and that the better rule would be one that focuses more on the objective reasonableness of the officer’s actions.” The Supreme Court declined to hear the case.

Ghaisar’s case has some key differences. For one, the shooting and the minutes of pursuit leading up to it were captured on video, unlike the Kleinert case. And Ghaisar was not being pursued for a felony — he had left the scene of a fender bender in Alexandria. Twice he stopped while being pursued by Vinyard and Amaya down the George Washington Memorial Parkway, and twice he drove off when the officers ran at his Jeep Grand Cherokee with guns drawn.

When Ghaisar stopped a third time, and started to drive off again, both officers fired five shots into the Jeep, striking Ghaisar four times in the head. The officers told the FBI last year that they believed Ghaisar was driving toward Amaya, though they appear to be on the side of the Jeep when they start firing in the video, and that his erratic

driving made him a danger to the community.

Nicholas Bacarisse, who joined Jefferson in appealing the Kleinert case to the Supreme Court, said of the Ghaisar case, “I don’t think the court can just look at the video and ask whether the conduct was ‘necessary and proper.’” He said a federal judge will probably make a determination under the “modern qualified immunity analysis, or did clearly established law prohibit the officers’ actions. And under that test, which is itself deeply flawed, officers get off for this sort of conduct all the time, no matter how outrageous it seems to us citizens.”

But one federal court found that there were circumstances where a federal officer could be prosecuted with state charges. In 1992, FBI sniper Lon Horiuchi was part of a team attempting to arrest Randy Weaver in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, on gun charges. But Horiuchi shot and killed Weaver’s wife. After the Justice Department declined charges, the local Idaho prosecutor charged Horiuchi with involuntary manslaughter.

The case was removed to federal court, which granted Horiuchi’s Supremacy Clause immunity request. But the U.S. Court of Appeal for the 9th Circuit reversed that ruling, saying, “That immunity has limits. When an agent acts in an objectively unreasonable manner, those limits are exceeded, and a state may bring a criminal prosecution.” In that case, a group of former U.S. attorneys general, led now by Attorney General William P. Barr, filed an amicus brief supporting the Supremacy Clause

argument.

After winning the appeals court ruling, Idaho prosecutors dropped the charges.

Thomas Connolly, a former federal prosecutor and now one of the Ghaisars’ lawyers, said that “the family understands that Bill Barr’s Department of Justice is going to put any impediment it possibly can to the prosecution of these officers.” The Justice Department has refused to allow the FBI agents who initially investigated the case to cooperate with Fairfax’s investigation, and it is defending the Park Police in the Ghaisars’ civil suit.

Charlotte Gomer, a spokeswoman for Herring, said the Virginia attorney general had joined the case because “this case is of tremendous importance to the Ghaisar family, the Northern Virginia community, and the Commonwealth as a whole, and Attorney General Herring believes it is important to stand up for the principles of accountability and justice.” She noted that Herring’s attorneys wrote the lead amicus brief in the Supreme Court case involving Trump’s taxes, “and this case will likely involve similar issues.”

Once Vinyard and Amaya are arraigned in Fairfax, they have 30 days to file a motion to remove the case to federal court, followed by a Supremacy Clause motion. Connolly said that whoever loses that ruling may appeal to the 4th Circuit, and then a possible appeal to the Supreme Court, as Kleinert’s case was. That would push a possible criminal trial at least to late next year and possibly into 2022.

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Va. lawmakers wrap up 60-day special session with criminal justice overhaul

VIRGINIA FROM B1

pass necessary improvements to policing and criminal justice,” House Speaker Eileen Filler-Corn (D-Fairfax) said. “We came together and passed a fiscally responsible budget that provides relief for all Virginians, especially those struggling to get by.”

The proceedings were protracted partly because Democrats, who control both chambers, insisted on an ambitious agenda, and partly because of steps taken to protect members from the novel coronavirus. The Senate met in a conference room of the Science Museum of Virginia so members could sit far apart, and the House convened online in virtual sessions.

One of the final delays came as Senate Democrats insisted on including language in the budget to implement a proposed constitutional amendment on redistricting that’s on the Nov. 3 ballot. Many House Democrats oppose the amendment, saying it doesn’t go far enough to protect against racial gerrymandering.

As a compromise, the two sides have agreed to keep the budget open. If the amendment passes, Gov. Ralph Northam (D) can submit the redistricting language, and the Assembly can briefly reconvene to vote on the final passage.

Northam called for the special session to address a projected shortfall of \$2.8 billion caused by the state’s response to the pandemic. During the regular session that adjourned in March, the General Assembly had passed a two-year, \$135 billion spending plan

that featured raises for teachers and state employees, along with generous new spending for social programs, education and health care.

Because of the shortfall, Northam ordered a freeze on all new spending. The modified budget he submitted to lawmakers ahead of the special session unfroze only small amounts of that spending, such as for housing and broadband expansion and for a modest deposit in the state’s reserve fund.

Northam warned lawmakers against using federal pandemic relief funds to cover virus-related expenses, saying it would limit his ability to respond to the ongoing health crisis when the legislature is out of session. He also threatened not to sign their proposed budget if they included significant “contingency” spending — ordering the governor to spend on certain items if the state’s revenue improves.

The agreement reached this week restores some spending that Northam had cut and backs away from some of the areas that had raised his objections.

House and Senate budget negotiators agreed to restore some funding for mental health services beyond Northam’s recommendations, and included money for public colleges and universities responding to the pandemic.

They also recommended providing a \$1,500 bonus for state employees and state-supported local employees in fiscal year 2022, if revenue permit, and added a \$500 bonus this year for police officers. The budget directs Northam to propose some type of



BOB BROWN/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

State Sen. Janet D. Howell (D-Fairfax), left, speaks to Senate Minority Leader Thomas K. Norment Jr. on Wednesday.

pay increase for teachers in 2022 if there is enough money in the budget.

The plan calls for restoring about \$37 million from Northam’s cuts for early-childhood education and about \$35 million for at-risk pupils in public schools.

Lawmakers agreed to include \$18.6 million in the budget to implement new laws regarding police oversight and criminal justice issues, along with \$6.6 million for police body cameras.

Democrats followed through on promises to address issues of police brutality and racial injustice highlighted by the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis police custody in May.

The House and Senate passed

measures giving local governments the option to create civilian review boards with subpoena power to investigate alleged police misconduct. They also sent Northam bills giving the state’s attorney the power to investigate allegations of systemic racism in law enforcement agencies.

They passed bills to ban chokeholds and no-knock warrants in most situations, make it easier to decertify police officers involved in wrongdoing, and establish minimum training standards for law enforcement agencies across the state. Officers who witness a colleague using excessive force would have a duty to intervene.

Other legislation sent to the governor would prohibit officers

from stopping cars for certain physical defects or searching them based on an alleged whiff of marijuana — minor infractions that, advocates said, police have used as pretexts for racially motivated stops.

Sexual relations between law enforcement and people in their custody — something already prohibited in many states — would be outlawed.

The House and Senate approved a bill to create a “MARCUS Alert,” which would create “community care teams” led by mental health professionals that would respond along with police to emergency calls related to mental health crises. Senate approval came Friday on a bipartisan 26-to-12 vote.

The measure is named for Marcus-David Peters, a 24-year-old Richmond teacher shot and killed by Richmond police during a mental breakdown in May 2018.

The House and Senate, though both led by Democrats, disagreed sharply in some areas. The House passed a bill that would have made it easier to sue police for misconduct by eliminating qualified immunity, the legal doctrine that shields officers from civil liability if there is any ambiguity surrounding whether their actions were justified. But a Senate committee defeated it.

The Senate’s approach, eventually adopted by the House as a compromise, attempts to chip away at that protection by spelling out in the state code when officers may use force, thereby eliminating uncertainty about whether it was justified.

Debates on two criminal justice

measures went down to the wire. A Senate bill allowing criminal defendants who are convicted by a jury to opt for sentencing from a judge narrowly passed both chambers. But a House bill to allow people convicted of crimes to have their records expunged after a period of time was blocked by the Senate. Lawmakers vowed to take that issue up again in the regular session that convenes in January.

“The special session was a great opportunity for legislators to come together and make real, progressive, well-needed reform when it came to police accountability and racial justice,” said Ashna Khanna, legislative director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Virginia. “We’ve seen some steps forward but Virginia has a very long way to go when it comes to racial justice and police accountability.”

The view was more mixed for law enforcement, said Wayne Huggins, executive director of the Virginia State Police Association. He praised efforts to enhance training and make it easier to “get rid of bad officers.”

But he expressed concern about other measures. He said a ban on pulling drivers over for mechanical deficiencies with the car will make the roads less safe. And he said there is sometimes a need for a no-knock warrant.

“No-knock warrants are very, very, very infrequently used, but when they are used, generally it’s because someone’s life is in danger or to stop the destruction of evidence,” Huggins said.

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Democrats surge ahead in fundraising in Virginia’s most competitive districts

CAMPAIGNS FROM B1

And they say Webb might be able to pull off an upset in the 5th District, citing an energized Democratic electorate and Republican divisions after Good ousted Rep. Denver Riggleman in a June GOP nominating convention.

A Democrat has not won the seat since 2008.

Virginians are turning out in force at early-voting sites and requesting record numbers of mail-in ballots. In the 2nd and 7th districts, Spanberger, Luria and their opponents are vying for suburban centrists and independent voters.

Luria, whose district is concentrated on Virginia’s southeastern coast, raised \$1.8 million in the third quarter, compared with Republican Scott Taylor’s \$1.1 million. She has \$1.4 million on hand. Taylor, a former state legislator who held the congressional seat for one term before losing to Luria two years ago, has \$503,000.

The two Navy veterans are

locked in an acrimonious rematch campaign, heavily focused on veterans’ issues and small-business aid.

Aside from hundreds of thousands in grass-roots donations for both candidates, Luria received more than \$250,000 from the House Victory Project, which is devoted to maintaining a Democratic majority, while thousands poured in from unions and liberal political action committees. Taylor has accepted thousands from conservative PACs and the auto industry.

Luria has spent \$3.1 million on ads, many of them devoted to attacking Taylor. Without a \$2.2 million assist from the Congressional Leadership Fund, Taylor would be struggling to compete on the airwaves, figures from the Virginia Public Access Project show.

Spanberger, whose district is anchored in the Richmond suburbs, raised \$2.4 million, while her opponent, state Del. Nick Freitas (R-Culpeper), raised \$1.8 million. She has \$2.5 million in the bank, while Freitas has

\$776,000.

Freitas has been helped by the Club for Growth PAC, devoted to electing fiscal conservatives. He accepted more than \$300,000 in contributions from the group, plus roughly \$100,000 from the House Freedom Fund and thousands from gun rights groups.

Spanberger received significant assistance from groups devoted to maintaining a Democratic majority in the House, with more than \$250,000 from the House Victory Project.

To boost Freitas, the NRCC has relaunched old attempts to link Spanberger, a former CIA officer, to terrorism. One advertisement notes that she taught English literature for part of a school year at a Saudi-funded Islamic school — the NRCC calls it “Terror High” because a former student was convicted of joining al-Qaeda.

It is the same attack Republicans unsuccessfully waged against Spanberger in 2018 and has been described as “despicable” by Michael V. Hayden, whose career in the National Security Agency and CIA

spanned three presidencies.

Freitas is running on a free-market platform pushing for minimal government regulation and intervention, especially in health care. He supports the repeal of the Affordable Care Act, drawing frequent attacks from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

Spanberger supports a public option and is campaigning as a moderate looking for bipartisan solutions to issues such as rural broadband access and lowering prescription drug prices, while also emphasizing her background in national security.

Spanberger, Luria and Webb also benefited massively from grass-roots donations through the digital donor platform Act-Blue, with thousands of individual donors from Virginia and across the country bringing in between \$945,566 and \$1.69 million for each candidate.

Thousands of others contributed totals of \$853,000 to Taylor and \$946,000 to Freitas through the online portal WinRed.

Good, in contrast, raised just

\$5,391 through WinRed this quarter. Some of his greatest support appears to have come from Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Tex.), with a \$73,200 contribution through the Cruz 20 for 20 Victory Fund. Cruz is also assisting Freitas with fundraising.

A self-described biblical conservative, Good challenged Riggleman in the nominating convention after the congressman officiated at the same-sex marriage of one of his aides.

During the general-election campaign, Good has positioned himself as a traditional law-and-order Republican, with strong support for President Trump’s agenda, holding numerous rallies with law enforcement groups. Trump won the district by 11 points in 2016.

Webb, a lawyer and doctor, is running on a platform focused on police and criminal justice reform. The son of a Drug Enforcement Administration officer, he has responded to attacks from Good and the NRCC by pointing to endorsements from several current and former sher-

iffs in central Virginia — including a former sheriff in Campbell County, where Good served as a board supervisor.

Webb’s fundraising report shows tens of thousands of dollars in donations from physicians associations, blue-collar unions and liberal outfits such as the League of Conservation Voters Action Fund and the Voter Protection Project, among others.

In Virginia’s U.S. Senate race, Republican candidate Daniel Gade raised slightly more than Sen. Mark R. Warner (D) in the third quarter but still has far less cash available.

Gade raised \$2.4 million and Warner raised \$2.2 million, although Warner’s campaign spokeswoman says the senator brought in an additional \$400,000 for the Democrats’ Virginia Coordinated Campaign, which also funds his organizers.

Warner, who is leading in polls by double digits, has \$6.4 million on hand. Gade has about \$343,000.

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Sylene gave quiet resistance in culture of shame

SYLENE FROM B1

said. “Cyla and Helen have always had the best selection in the city and, I soon discovered, in the country.”

Born in Germany and raised in New Jersey, Weiner and Kestler grew up helping their parents, who were Holocaust survivors, run their own lingerie boutique. Among lace and wire, the sisters spent their childhoods watching women explore the most vulnerable and intimate aspects of their bodies. Sometimes they would see women break down and cry in the middle of the store.

“It made such an impression on me,” Weiner said, standing half a century later in her own bright and airy store, dressed in a leopard print shirt that matched her thick-framed glasses.

Most of the shoppers who cried during fittings, Weiner later learned, were recovering from radical mastectomies, or surgeries that remove an entire breast to treat breast cancer. The women were struggling to come to terms with their new physique, and Weiner and her sister saw firsthand how lingerie could ease that process when customized appropriately.

So years later, when a young Weiner was tired of working as a substitute teacher, she turned back to her roots and sought training on how to fit undergarments for mastectomy patients. She opened Sylene on a hot August day in 1975. Five years later, she hired her sister.

They spent days just feet apart, with Weiner poring over numbers and style trends in the back office and Kestler working with customers in the front of the shop. Somehow, they never tired of each other’s company.

One evening after an eight-hour shift together, Weiner remembers calling her sister just to chat.

“My husband said, ‘What is possibly left to talk about?’” Weiner recalled.

“Everything!” Kestler chimed in.

“Exactly.”

Over the course of a decade, the sisters worked together to put on fashion shows for women who had undergone breast surgery each year, drawing crowds and local media. They stopped the events when lumpectomies, which remove only a part of the breast, became the standard



BONNIE JO MOUNT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Cyla Weiner, left, and Helen Kestler at Sylene in Chevy Chase, Md. Weiner opened the boutique in 1975, when it was rare for women to talk about purchasing their own lingerie. The store would later attract customers such as Nancy Reagan and Connie Chung.

treatment for breast cancer.

“It became like a sisterhood in the store,” Weiner said. “At a time when it was very hush-hush to have a radical mastectomy, the store provided an outlet.”

By the time Nancy Reagan had her mastectomy in 1987, Sylene was famous for its work with breast cancer survivors. Weiner traveled to the White House private quarters that year to fit the first lady, who was preparing to attend a state dinner.

“She was nervous about how she would look and that people would stare at her,” said Weiner, who would travel to the White House several more times to fit Reagan. “I told her that she would look great and not to worry. She was just like any other woman.”

While Sylene is known as a haven for breast cancer survivors, it was also made popular for its handpicked selection of undergarments, almost entirely curated by Weiner. Her eye for style and fit hooked her clientele and

evolved with them as times changed.

“Women are a lot more independent and secure than they were many years ago,” Kestler said, recalling when women regularly wore slips. “They don’t feel dependent on a man to make them feel good, and they don’t need an occasion to make them buy something that they want or love.”

More than the quality of their product, Weiner and Kestler want their store to be remembered for the community it nurtured.

“You basically felt that no matter what you needed, they would find it for you,” said Amy Kauffman, a 57-year-old who shopped at Sylene for more than 25 years. “They knew how to make you look better, and they knew how to flatter you.”

Like many Sylene regulars, Kauffman first went to Sylene to shop for herself but returned years later with her daughter. It was common for Weiner and Kes-

ler to fit undergarments for a client’s prom dress, wedding gown and maternity wardrobe.

They also formed special relationships with some of the city’s most high-profile residents, traveling to the Kennedy Center to see client performances and Smithsonianians to see client designs. The sisters became so essential to Chung that she would ask them to FedEx undergarments if she was sent away on a reporting trip and needed a quick outfit change.

“They have always had a good understanding of a woman’s body and how to enhance it in a way that you can’t see,” Chung said. “They came up with all kinds of ideas, seriously, that were sneaky smart.”

The end of the boutique’s long tenure came as a shock to its customers, who immediately called, emailed and showed up at the store demanding answers. But there was no eureka moment, no epic sister fight, not even financial strife caused by a pan-

demic, the women said.

Their lease was nearing its end, and Weiner and Kestler figured it was time to either move locations or close shop. They decided they were simply ready to turn the page and spend more time with their grandchildren on the West Coast.

And so, like almost every other decision they had made, the sisters leaped together. On Sept. 3, they announced they would close their doors.

The sisters have been working overtime to fulfill the orders that poured in following their announcement. They say they will work until every order is filled, including for those like Chung, who ordered what seemed like a lifetime supply of undergarments.

“We do this because it’s fun. But after 45 years, we need a break,” Weiner said. “And this isn’t to say we won’t ever come back. We will just see how it goes.”

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THE DISTRICT

Mother fatally shot in Southeast ‘just wanted a chance at life’

BY PETER HERMANN AND CLARENCE WILLIAMS

Cyhneil Smith was determined to make it.

She was a young, petite woman with a feisty attitude and an ever-present smile who had overcome much in her short life.

Her first child was stillborn. Her sister was fatally shot two years ago. Still, Smith pushed forward, had a son, and graduated from a vocational school, aiming to be a hotel concierge.

“We felt like we could save her from the madness out here,” said the school’s founder, Brandi Forte, speaking of the hardships in parts of the District.

Early Friday, police found Smith dead in a vehicle parked in the 300 block of 37th Street SE, alongside Fort Dupont Park. Authorities said she had been shot multiple times.

Both Smith and her sister, Mecca India Tyshea Gravette, were 23 years old when they were killed, 2½ miles apart in Southeast. A relative confirmed the relationship but said the family did not want to talk publicly.

D.C. police said they had not made an arrest and did not know a possible motive in Smith’s killing. It



KEITH LANE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Cyhneil Smith, a graduate of the Amala Lives Institute, was found dead Friday in a car in D.C. Police said she was shot multiple times.

was the District’s 160th slaying this year, driving homicides up 17 percent compared with this time in 2019.

A police spokesman said there is nothing to indicate Smith’s killing is related to the fatal shooting of her sister in 2018. Gravette and a male companion were shot in a vehicle in the 3700 block of 1st Street SE. Her killing also remains unsolved.

Smith’s story emerged in a 2018 column by Theresa Vargas of The Washington Post, who wrote

about the school Smith attended and the others in her class. All had lost loved ones or experienced other personal tragedies, and were trying to get back on track.

Smith dropped out of high school in the 11th grade, soon after her daughter was stillborn. She was pregnant with a son two years later, and she got a job in a school cafeteria. Then her sister was killed, leaving behind three small children in the care of Smith’s mother.

Smith found her way to the Amala Lives Institute, which Forte describes as a “second chance for people who have lost their way.” Forte named it Amala, which means “hope” in Arabic.

Forte counted Smith among her best students, even if she was sometimes tardy. “She would come in and say, ‘Good morning, you all know I’m late, but I’ll do my work,’” Forte said. “If she came late, she stayed late.”

Smith sometimes brought her son, PrinceCannon, then less than a year old, to school when she couldn’t find a babysitter. Though outgrowing with classmates, Forte recalled Smith retreating with her son to a quiet corner, doing homework while feeding him snacks.

“Working with her became a joy for us,” Forte said.

Smith told Vargas she traveled an hour on public transportation to reach the school. “I need this opportunity,” she said in The Post column. “I’m a day behind on a brighter future if I call out.” Noting her son, she said, “It’s not even my future. It’s his future.”

But Smith’s past tragedies weighed heavily. “My family has been through so much,” she said. “My family has no good memories of Washington, D.C.”

After graduating with a certification from the American Hotel & Lodging Association, Smith worked for a temp agency and was assigned to front desks at hotels. Her last job before she died was with a cleaning service.

She teamed up with Carla Looney, who runs Self Maid Cleaners, dusting and vacuuming private homes and apartments. Smith again talked about working at a hotel, this time as a front desk receptionist.

“She was trying to get her life back together,” Looney recalled. “She was really a nice person. She was always laughing. The whole time we were cleaning houses, she was cracking jokes. I’m trying to figure out who would do this and why.”

Smith rarely talked about her personal life. She did not invite any relatives or friends when she graduated from Amala. Forte described her as protective.

“I just know she had so much hope,” Forte said. “I think she just wanted a chance at life. She wanted to survive.”

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Magda Jean-Louis contributed to this report.

THE DISTRICT

City officials, injured workers testify on proposed expansion of benefits

BY JUSTIN WM. MOYER

Injured D.C. workers, their advocates and the agency that runs the city’s workers’ compensation program testified before a D.C. Council committee Friday on legislation that would expand access to benefits.

The city’s Office of Risk Management earlier this week said 79 workers have been notified they were reaching a 500-week cap on benefits set by the council in 2010. The agency, with more than 1,000 D.C. workers on its rolls, said those whom it considers permanently injured would still be eligible for payments.

But for those with conditions not considered permanent, “temporary benefits should terminate,” the agency said in a statement.

In July, D.C. Council member Brandon T. Todd (D-Ward 4), chair of the council’s Committee on Government Operations, introduced two bills to address what advocates say are inequities in workers’ compensation for the city’s public employees, many of whom are people of color.

One bill would provide permanent disability payments for injured city workers. Though the Office of Risk Management, which runs the city’s workers’ compensation program, says injured work-

ers can access long-term benefits, advocates say access has been eroded by legislative and regulatory changes in the past decade.

Another bill would eliminate discrepancies in the way public and private workers are treated. City employees face restrictions on workers’ compensation that those in the private sector do not, including the 500-week cap and the need to see Risk Management-approved physicians to verify health statuses.

“It is apparent that the city’s workers’ compensation needs reform,” Todd said at Friday’s hearing. “This is the first step.”

Laurie Posner testified Friday

that she was a paramedic in the city before injuries on the job sidelined her in the 1990s. Earlier this year, she received notice that her workers’ compensation benefits would be terminated in 2021 after a Risk Management-backed doctor said she was no longer disabled, which she said contradicted her personal physician. Had she worked for a private company, she said, her benefits would be secure.

“I would love to go back as a medic,” she said. “That was my dream. But my doctor said I’m unable to.”

Steven H. Kaminski, an attorney on the board of governors of

the Trial Lawyers Association of Washington, D.C., said Risk Management faces a “conflict of interest,” adjudicating workers’ claims while also administering them.

“It is almost a trap where it’s set up for failure,” he said.

Jed Ross, director of the Office of Risk Management, said at the hearing that he was “testifying to voice the administration’s strong opposition to this bill.”

Ross said private contractors who ran the city’s public workers’ compensation system before 2018 were inefficient, often leaving claims unresolved for weeks or months. Though he said he was open to negotiating a different

MARYLAND

Republican candidate raises over \$6 million

BY MEAGAN FLYNN

A Maryland congressional candidate whom President Trump has repeatedly embraced on Twitter raised an astonishing \$6.4 million in the past three months, despite long odds in a Baltimore-based district where registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by 4 to 1.

Kimberly Klacik, running in Maryland’s 7th District, raised millions from mostly out-of-state donors after Trump helped one of her provocative campaign ads go viral, turning her into a GOP media star and securing her a speaking slot at the Republican National Convention in August.

Her national profile has skyrocketed in the months since she was trounced by Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.) in an April special election to serve the rest of the term of the late Elijah E. Cummings (D). Mfume, who held the congressional seat for a decade before stepping down to run the NAACP in 1996, won roughly three-fourths of the vote and is heavily favored to win again on Election Day.

But Klacik, the founder of a nonprofit for disadvantaged women, has dialed up the rhetoric this summer and fall, releasing ads highlighting blight and trash in West Baltimore and urging Black voters to abandon the Democratic Party.

Her first ad, which Trump shared on Twitter in August, has garnered more than 12 million online views.

“Be smart Baltimore! You have been ripped off for years by the Democrats, & gotten nothing but poverty & crime,” Trump tweeted in September. “It will only get worse UNLESS YOU ELECT KIMBERLY KLACIK TO CONGRESS.”

Mfume suggested in a statement Friday that Klacik is trying to buy her way into office. “This Congressional seat belongs to the people of Baltimore City, Baltimore County and Howard County,” Mfume said. “Donald Trump and Kim Klacik cannot buy it. They should take their money and greed somewhere else, because we are not for sale.”

Neither Klacik nor her campaign could be reached for comment Friday afternoon. She was stumping in Arizona with Donald Trump Jr. at a Latinos for Trump event.

Mfume raised just \$184,344 this quarter, which is not unusual for such a heavily favored candidate. With less than three weeks until Election Day, he has \$269,300 on hand.

Klacik’s filing showed she had \$3.6 million left, after spending at least \$1.5 million on online advertising, nearly \$155,000 on mailers, \$11,000 on a private jet and thousands on events, including nearly \$6,000 at Trump International Hotel in downtown Washington.

She received little money from political action committees, with most donations amounting to several hundred or a few thousand dollars from businesspeople or retirees.

Klacik, who like Mfume is Black, has defended the president’s record on race relations before a national audience, including on “The View” last month.

She first splashed onto the national scene in 2019, after posting videos of West Baltimore on social media. Her videos are what led Trump to launch a fusillade of attacks on Cummings, then chair of the House Oversight Committee, for his stewardship of a district the president described as a “rat and rodent infested mess.”

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THE DISTRICT

Zoo’s newest panda hits 8-week milestone with open eyes and open ears

BY MARTIN WEIL

Maybe we overuse “unique.” But in the entire Washington region, who denies that the National Zoo’s panda cub is unique? It is our one and only. And on Friday, the rare and cherished creature was 8 weeks old.

It still lacks a name, but it has developed in ways that seem likely to help it thrive and pursue panda happiness amid the events of this eventful time, or any other.

It is not just that it has begun crawling, which can be taken as

an obviously good sign.

In a bulletin issued Thursday by the zoo, assistant curator of pandas Laurie Thompson reported the development of other vital faculties.

Both of the little fellow’s eyes are open, Thompson said. That does not occur at birth, but finally happened a little more than a week ago.

Not only that, the cub’s ears are also open. Signs of auditory sensitivity arrived this week. When keepers entered his den to fetch him for another brief exam,

Thompson said, the sound of the door prompted him to vocalize.

As the cub was being looked over, Thompson said, it turned its black-and-white head on the examining table, indicating an effort to find the source of the voices it heard.

In what keepers took to be a sign of the absence of panda passivity, it barked as it was being measured.

And so it grows. In the seven days between Oct. 7 and Wednesday, it added a pound. Its girth has also grown, from 13.7 inches,

to 15.9 inches.

That’s only 2.2 inches, not a great deal perhaps. But we can also regard it as 16 percent in a single week. A step along the road to giant panda rotundity.

The young panda, seemingly one of a kind in the mammalian population of the Washington region, has been described by zoo staff as a miracle cub.

In doing so, they cited the age of its mother, Mei Xiang, 22, suggesting she had reached the limits of her cub-bearing years.

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OBITUARIES

HERBERT KRETZMER, 95

Journalist with a flair for words wrote English libretto for stage phenomenon ‘Les Misérables’

BY EMILY LANGER

Herbert Kretzmer, a London newspaperman who moonlighted as a lyricist and produced the libretto for the English version of “Les Misérables,” the epic musical that remains an international sensation 35 years after its barricades first rose up from a London stage, died Oct. 14 at his home in that city. He was 95.

His agent, Marc Berlin, confirmed his death and said he did not know the cause.

Millions of theatergoers around the world have seen “Les Misérables,” the musical adaptation of Victor Hugo’s 1862 novel about crime and redemption, liberty and struggle, and gone home with the words of such numbers as “Master of the House” and “Do You Hear the People Sing?” still ringing in their ears.

If fans could not stop hearing the people sing — a “Seinfeld” episode memorably poked fun at the earworm nature of “Master of the House” — they owed the experience in part to Mr. Kretzmer’s facility with words, a talent he said he honed as an ink-stained theater and television critic for two middlebrow London newspapers, the Daily Express and the Daily Mail.

“In rhyming and journalism, you work under constant stricture,” he once told the London Daily Telegraph. “You are held loosely behind bars. There is something about being constrained that appeals to me: the freedom inside the cage.”

A South African-born son of Lithuanian Jews, Mr. Kretzmer first sailed to London shortly after the end of World War II. He had grown up going to the movies and idolizing such composers as George Gershwin and Cole Porter, he recalled in an essay for the Daily Mail published in 2013, and aspired to become a songwriter.

But he found London “positively awash with composers far more talented than I.”

He decided to try his hand at penning lyrics and, while making a living as a journalist, “wrote songs for anyone who would buy my wares.”

He shared a credit for “Goodness Gracious Me!” recorded by Peter Sellers and Sophia Loren in 1960, and wrote a number of songs for the BBC TV satirical show “That Was the Week That Was.” But he was best known musically for his collaboration with Charles Aznavour, the French balladeer for whom he provided the English lyrics of such hits as “Yesterday, When I Was Young” and “She.”

Mr. Kretzmer’s work with Aznavour impressed British theatrical producer Cameron Mackintosh, who in 1985 was planning an English version of the French-language musical “Les Misérables,” with music by Claude-Michel Schönberg and text by Alain Boublil and Jean-Marc Natel. With opening night only months away, Mackintosh called Mr. Kretzmer to ask whether he might be able to write an English libretto.

Mr. Kretzmer agreed, took a leave of absence from his newspaper job, and set to work. He labored so intensely that he said he sometimes forgot to eat.

“As I sat in my Knightsbridge flat all those years ago, agonizing over whether the line about ‘but the tigers come at night’ would work or not, I never dreamed of what ‘Les Misérables’ would become,” he wrote in the 2013 essay. “Like Hugo’s novel, it’s one part chase story, one part moral fable and one part love story, but when you put those elements together the result has proved irresistible.”

At its premiere, the production was largely a dud among London



1965 PHOTO BY REG LANCASTER/EXPRESS/GETTY IMAGES

Herbert Kretzmer, a lyricist as well as a journalist, takes notes while talking to French balladeer Charles Aznavour. The duo collaborated on Aznavour’s hits “Yesterday, When I Was Young” and “She.”

theater critics, with Mr. Kretzmer’s colleague at the Daily Mail panning “Les Mis” as “Les Glums.” But theatergoers were of another mind entirely, and the show quickly proved a phenomenon.

Drawing crowds for decades, it became the longest-running musical in the history of London’s West End — its reign interrupted only by the onset of the novel coronavirus pandemic early this year.

A Broadway staging opened in New York in 1987 — winning the Tony Award for best original musical score — and closed in 2003. Revivals followed in 2006 and 2014.

A 2012 film version starring Hugh Jackman as the hero Jean Valjean, Russell Crowe as his antagonist, Javert, and Anne Hathaway as the tragic Fantine proved a box office megahit. Three years later, the Daily Mail estimated Mr. Kretzmer’s wealth at \$17 million.

He took pains to say that his contribution was not one of translation.

“If I wanted a literal translation, I would go to the dictionary,” Mr. Kretzmer told the New Yorker in 2013. “Translation — the very word I rebut and resent, because it minimizes the genuine creativity that I bring to the task.”

Moreover, the original French version ran for two hours, and the English one exceeds three.

“You don’t need to be a math whiz to calculate that at least a third of the play did not exist before I got my hands on it,” he observed. “I feel the show belongs as much to me as it belongs to the French.”

His lyrics ranged from Fantine’s heart-rending “I Dreamed a Dream” and Valjean’s prayerful “Bring Him Home” to the rousing ode to liberty, “Do You Hear the People Sing?,” which took on a life outside the theater as a protest song.

“Although I never envisaged going to the barricades myself,” he later wrote, “I was undoubtedly influenced by the inhumane Apartheid system that I witnessed when I was growing up.”

Herbert Kretzmer was born on Oct. 5, 1925, in Kroonstad, a small town southwest of Johannesburg. His parents ran a grocery and later a furniture store. “I soon became aware,” he wrote, “that even as a boy in short trousers I could enjoy a life of privilege for no better reason than that I was born a wit baasie — a ‘little white master.’”

After studying at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, Mr. Kretzmer began his journalistic career in South Africa. He spent a period writing a novel in Paris before settling in 1954 in London, where he developed a specialty interviewing visiting celebrities such as John Steinbeck, Truman Capote, Marlene Dietrich, Rose-

mary Clooney and Cary Grant.

Mr. Kretzmer wrote “Our Man Crichton,” a musical based on a play by J.M. Barrie, which premiered in London in 1964, but he had to wait two decades to achieve genuine fame in the theatrical world, with “Les Mis.” He was appointed an Officer of the Order of the British Empire in 2011.

Mr. Kretzmer’s first marriage, to Elisabeth Wilson, ended in divorce. Survivors include his wife, Sybil Sever, whom he married in 1988; two children from his first marriage; and two grandchildren.

Recently, demonstrators in Hong Kong have sung “Do You Hear the People Sing?” to protest Beijing’s encroachment.

“I believed that such a protest song, sung in solidarity, could overwhelm not only the repressive 1830s French police state depicted in Les Misérables but also the mighty dictatorships of our own times,” Mr. Kretzmer wrote, reflecting on the develop-

ment. “Remember, I wrote the lyrics some years before Nelson Mandela’s release from prison in 1990 and before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991,” he continued. “But I never imagined ‘Do You Hear the People Sing?’ might become an anthem for protesters everywhere, from Venezuela to Taiwan, Turkey and Hong Kong.”

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DEATH NOTICE

ACHESON

JOANN ACHESON “Jan”
On October 14, 2020, at the age of 90 after a 13-year struggle with primary progressive aphasia. Survived by her husband of 59 years, Don, daughters Lynn Acheson and Leigh Naughton (Larry), granddaughters Lydia and Bridget Naughton and sister Darlene Coley. She was raised in Wisconsin, departed at age 18 to join her older sister Dolores in Bermuda and then continued employment with the US Air Force in England, Morocco and Japan before marriage and motherhood. No services are planned.

DEITER



URBAN LEROY DEITER, JR.

Urban Leroy Deiter Jr., 84, born December 3, 1935 in Wilkes Barre, PA, the beloved husband of Carole Deiter, passed away on October 5, 2020. Carole and Urban were childhood sweethearts. They celebrated over 61 years of loving marriage.

After serving in the Navy, Mr. Deiter joined E.H. Walker Supply Company as a printer machinist. He worked his way up to Vice President of the company. He was an expert in graphic arts machinery. He traveled the U.S. and Europe installing and maintaining equipment.

He was a member of the PG and Three Rivers shooting clubs. He enjoyed his time golfing, playing cards, and skeet shooting with his friends. Mr. Deiter was an avid thrill seeker, a former pilot, and sky diver. He was known for his sense of humor and practical jokes.

He is survived by Carole Deiter; daughters Dawn Deiter Rich, Kelly Deiter, and Tracy Deiter; grandchildren Kelsey Harry (Jeremy), Jordan Burgess (Andrew), Cameron Rich, and Quinn Grimes; and great grandson Reece Burgess.

Funeral services will be held privately. If you wish, memorial contributions can be made to the charity of your choice.

GOLD

WALTER L. GOLD

The officers and members of the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Rescue Squad regret the passing of Walter L. Gold who provided over 60 years of dedicated service to our department. There will be a memorial service on Sunday, October 18 at 1 p.m. at the King David Memorial Garden, 7842 Lees Highway, Falls Church, VA. We extend our heartfelt sympathies to his family and friends.

Kenneth B. Holden, President
Edward G. Shurberne, Chief

GREEN



WILLIAM DELAPLAINE GREEN, JR.

William Delaplane Green Jr. passed away peacefully in his home in Alexandria, Virginia in July 31, 2020. He was 69 years old.

Born in Alexandria, Virginia on September 12, 1950 to Norma Lake Green and William D. Green, Sr., he was educated in Fairfax County public schools, graduating from Fort Hunt High School in 1968. He continued his education, attending Lehigh University in Lehigh, PA. Afterwards, he began working in his family’s businesses in Arlington, VA.

During these years he worked on a variety of devices resulting in patents with the U.S. Patent Office. He also wrote poetry, and some of his works are in the Library of Congress. In later years, he traveled extensively. He especially loved Hawaii.

Although he never married, Bill was a beloved Uncle to his many nieces and nephews. He helped them learn to play tennis, work on cars, and encouraged their educations. He was always interested in their activities and accomplishments, and attended their graduations, weddings, and other important events. He especially loved spending time with them at the family camp in upstate New York, fishing, boating, helping them water ski, build campfires, and play tennis.

He is survived by five of his siblings: his brother, Richard P. Green (Susan) of Hollywood, FL; sisters, Elizabeth G. Wolfe (William), of Arlington, VA; Carole G. Newman (Crit Cook), of Arlington, VA; Katherine A. Green (Joerg Schwuch), of Ashland, OR; and Norma G. Gilpin of Allen, TX; 10 nieces and nephews and numerous great-nieces, great-nephews and cousins.

A funeral service will be held for the family on Monday, October 19, 2020 at 10 a.m. in Arlington, VA at the Cherrydale Baptist Church. The Reverend Steve King will officiate. Visitation for non-family will be Sunday, October 18, 2020 from 5 to 7 p.m. at Murphy’s Funeral Home in Arlington, VA.

HAMILTON

TAWANDA M. HAMILTON

Peacefully on Sunday, October 4, 2020. Resident of Capitol Heights, MD. Devoted mother of Tamara L. Miller; loving daughter of the late Rose and Joseph Hamilton. Also survived by one loving grandson, Zavion Merleydy; and a host of other relatives and friends. Visitation will be held on Tuesday, October 20 at 3:30 p.m., Service 4:30 p.m., at J.B. JENKINS FUNERAL HOME, INC., 7474 Landover Rd., Hyattsville, MD. Services will be live streamed at www.jbjenkinsfuneralhome.com

KLAU

ZELINE CARON KLAU

On Wednesday, October 14, 2020, our beloved mother, Zeline Caron Klau, Age 86, of Cannon Falls, MN, passed away. Preceded in death by her loving husband, David Klau. She is survived by her children, Bruce (Joett) Charno, Randi (Bruce) Hennings, Lauri (Chris) Robinson; five grandchildren and five great-grandchildren. Zeline will be remembered for her musical talent, fierce independence, stubbornness, and strong heart. Friends can honor Zeline with contributions to be held at their choice. No services to be held at this time. www.cremationsocietyofmn.com.

DEATH NOTICE

LEVITT



RACHELLE LISA LEVITT (1952-2020)

RACHELLE LISA LEVITT of Washington, DC, passed away at age 68 on October 13, 2020, from complications arising out of neurodegenerative disease. Rachelle was born on March 27, 1952, in New York City and grew up in Queens. She received a B.A. in urban studies from Case Western Reserve University in 1973, and a Master’s degree in city planning from Harvard University in 1975. Rachelle worked as a Special Assistant with the Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, from 1975 to 1981; for the Urban Land Institute, where she retired as Executive Vice President for the Global Information Group, from 1981 to 2009; and for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, where she retired as a Director of Research in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, from 2010 to 2019. During Rachelle’s long career she co-authored and edited numerous books, magazines, and articles. Rachelle married Bernard Webberman in 1977. She is survived by her beloved husband of 43 years; by her beloved daughters Melissa Leigh Webberman and Emily Tara Webberman, both of Washington, DC; and by her many friends, family, and former colleagues. She will also be deeply missed by her beloved dog, Sarge. Rachelle was predeceased by her parents Jean and Samuel Levitt. In light of the coronavirus pandemic, the family will hold private services. As such, a celebration for all friends and family in honor of Rachelle’s life is planned for the fall of 2021. In lieu of flowers, the family asks that donations be sent to the American Brain Foundation in memory of Rachelle.

LIPFORD

ELAINE DENISE LIPFORD

On Thursday, October 8, 2020. She is survived by her husband, John A. Lipford. Sons John Bush (Darlene) and Aaron Lipford; grandsons: Kevin Coles Jr. (Shanyka) Kerwin Coles, Ryan Bush, and Andrew Bush; great-grandchildren Khalil, Kevon, Kamiyra, and Kylan; sisters Rev. Dr. Valeria Scott (her Pastor), Yvette Coles, Samona Reynolds; brothers Darnell and Dexter (Felita); a host of other relatives and friends. Mrs. Lipford will lie in state at Holy Cross Pentecostal Church, 601 Larchmont Ave., Capitol Heights, MD, Tuesday, October 20 from 10 a.m. until time of service 11 a.m. Interment at Resurrection Cemetery. Online condolences may be made at: www.stewartfuneralhome.com

RUBENSTEIN

ROBERT LEWIS RUBENSTEIN

Of Williamsburg, VA (formerly of Falls Church, VA, Matawan, NJ and Perth Amboy, NJ) passed away on Tuesday, October 13, 2020 at the age of 78. He was preceded in death by his wife, Leah, of 52 years. He leaves behind his son, Adam Rubenstein (Robin) of Williamsburg, VA, daughter, Lisa Gerstenfeld (Philip) of Dallas, TX, daughter, Allison Rome (Bryan) of Reston, VA, loving grandchildren, Seth and Saul Gerstenfeld, Hallie and Brad Rubenstein, and Elyssa and Jack Rome; and brother, Dr. Carl Rubenstein (Debby) of Oklahoma City, OK. A memorial service will be held at a later date due to the current pandemic. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made in Robert’s memory to Riverside Hospital Foundation (Riverside Doctors Hospital Make a Difference fund or Dr. Mark Ellis Cancer Care Endowment Fund), Pancreatic Cancer Action Network, or The Glass Ribbon Project.

RUSSELL

JAMES COWELL RUSSELL “Jim”

ETCM, US Navy (Ret.) (Age 82)

Of Great Mills, MD passed away on October 11, 2020 at MedStar St. Mary’s Hospital in Leonardtown, MD. Family will receive friends on Sunday, October 18, 2020 from 3 to 5 p.m., with prayers at 4 p.m. at Brinsfield Funeral Home, P.A., 22955 Hollywood Road, Leonardtown, MD 20650. A Mass of Christian Burial will be celebrated by Reverend Raymond F. Schmidt on Monday, October 19, 2020 at 11 a.m. at St. John Francis Regis Catholic Church, 43927 St. Johns Road, Hollywood, MD 20636. Interment will immediately follow at the church cemetery. Arrangements by the Brinsfield Funeral Home, P.A.

SHEPHARD

WALTER JAMES SHEPHARD

Beloved father, peacefully passed away on October 3, 2020. Family will welcome friends Sunday, October 18 at J.B. Jenkins Funeral Home, 7474 Landover Rd. Visitation 2 p.m. until time of service at 2:30 p.m. Interment Arlington National Cemetery at a later date.

SOWIZRAL

GLORIA LOUISE SOWIZRAL

(Age 87)

Of Manchester, NJ passed away on Tuesday, October 13, 2020 at Casey House. Beloved wife of the late John Walter Sowizral. Loving mother of Judith Reidy (James), and Brenda Zygmund (Gregory). Caring sister of Dianne Carne (Edward). Devoted grandmother of Katherine Kerrane (Michael), Sean Reidy, Jacquelyn Zygmund (Gregory), Helen, Brooke Clayton (Michael), and Allyson Taylor (Edward). Dearing great grandmother of Avery Zygmund, Ellis Clayton and Gavin Taylor. A memorial service will be held next summer 2021 at Brigadier General William C. Doyle Memorial Cemetery. Full obituary can be viewed and online condolences may be expressed at: www.pumphreyfuneralhome.com

VENTURA

DANIEL REUBEN VENTURA

Formerly of Silver Spring, MD, passed away on October 15, 2020 at age 50. Daniel is survived by his devoted parents, Jack and Stephanie Ventura, and his loving siblings, Jerome Ventura of Concord, CA, and Marcia Ventura (Wendy Huener) of Seattle, WA. Dear uncle of Atticus Huener; and adored nephew of Lorraine Leavitt, Frank and Margie Ventura, Lenore Ventura, and Violet Ventura. Private graveside services at Judean Memorial Garden at 11 a.m., Sunday, October 18. Please contact Congregation Beth El of Montgomery County for information on Zoom connections for the funeral and shiva (301-652-2606). In lieu of flowers, please consider contributions to your favorite charity. Arrangements by Hines-Rinaldi Funeral Home, LLC under Jewish Funeral Practices Committee of Greater Washington Contract.

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The Washington Post

ANNOUNCEMENT

ANNOUNCEMENT

REMEMBER
YOUR LOVED ONES

December 13, 2020

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an Annual Commemorative Section.

Plan to be a part of this annual tradition!

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Friday, November 13, 2020For more information, please call:
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DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE

BLAINE



PATRICIA FRANCES BLAINE "Pat"

Patricia Frances Blaine (nee Conboy) was born on November 12, 1952, in Philadelphia, PA, and passed away on October 9, 2020, in Arlington, VA. Patricia's immediate survivors are her husband, George; children, James, Jeremy, and Anne; Conboy family siblings, Eleanor, Marianne, Jerry, Tom, Kate, and Theresa; two aunts and numerous cousins. In addition, she is survived by her brother-in-law, Kevin, and sister-in-law, Christine.

Patricia was a Registered Nurse earning her license from The Medical College of Pennsylvania (now part of Drexel University) and her BSN from George Mason University. She worked as a nurse for nearly 45 years in several capacities at Georgetown University Hospital, Alexandria Hospital, Arlington Hospital (now Virginia Hospital Center), and Fairfax INOVA Hospital. For most of her career, Patricia was a hospice nurse and with Capital Caring and its predecessors. In addition, she

worked with Arlington County to provide health care for homeless and needy children. Pat was also a very active community volunteer helping with projects for the PTA, scouts, sports, and church.

Pat was a loving spirit with a radiant and healing smile. Her dedication to nursing reflected her selfless caring, compassionate heart, and generous nature. She completely and thoroughly loved the family she nourished, and she cherished her scores of friends and colleagues. Pat believed in the dignity of humanity; she lived to help people through the best and the hardest of times. Her greatest joy was providing comfort to all she touched personally and professionally. As both a friend and a nurse, Pat supported hundreds of acquaintances, patients, and their families through the physical and emotional struggles of life and death. No effort in her quest to serve was ever too much.

Pat considered the environment as an integral part of humanity. Therefore, she reverently loved nature and thoroughly respected it. She was kind to all in creation — plant or animal, great or small. All who met Pat, especially dogs, immediately sensed her caring essence. The plants in her garden thrived for her.

Pat would have wished that those she enriched to continue caring for others by giving to worthy charities of their choice. She had many personal favorites. Contributions to Capital Caring would honor her memory and help continue what was her life's work. See www.capitalcaring.org

A visitation will be held Monday, October 19, 2020, from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. at Murphy Funeral Home, Arlington, VA.

Please see full obituary at
www.murphyfuneralhomes.com

BRAUNSTEIN

RICHARD L. BRAUNSTEIN

On Monday, October 5, 2020, Richard L. Braunstein, loving husband, father and grandfather, passed away at the age of 87. Richard (Dick) was born on September 13, 1933 in Brooklyn, NY to Saul and Iris (Deutsch) Braunstein. After graduating from New York University, he received his law degree from Harvard Law School in 1957. He joined the New York Bar in 1958 and the District of Columbia Bar in 1959.

Mr. Braunstein was introduced by his uncle, Seymour Deutsch, to Washington tax lawyer Bernard J. Long, joining Long's firm in 1958. In 1960 the Long firm merged with the Washington communications law firm, Dow, Lohnes and Albertson (DL&A), establishing for DL&A its corporate and tax practice. Mr. Braunstein practiced with DL&A (later known as Dowl Lohnes, PLLC) until his retirement from the firm in 2014 when the firm merged with Cooley LLP. He became a partner of DL&A in 1965 and succeeded Mr. Long as leader of the corporate/tax practice. Mr. Braunstein ultimately led the firm in decades of expansion, becoming its senior partner and chairman. He led the establishment of New York and Atlanta offices, while representing many large communications companies and their owners. He possessed a keen

intellect, but perhaps what set him apart was his unique ability to feel genuinely that his clients' business and tax issues were his own and to try to solve them with their mindset. After his retirement, Mr. Braunstein continued consulting on matters concerning some of his long-standing, and well-beloved clients. He enjoyed life-long friendships with his clients and colleagues. His loyalty, generosity, brilliant legal mind and boundless energy defined his many years of practice.

Richard had a passion for classical music, and could be found under the tent at the Aspen Music Festival every summer. He was known for his kindness, generosity and compassionate spirit. Richard was preceded in death by his wife Leslieanne; his children, Karen (John) Burgett and Douglas (Julie); his sister Barbara; his four grandchildren, Noah, Justin and Grace Burgett and Brooke Braunstein; and by extended family members and friends. The family will hold a memorial service on Sunday, October 25, 2020, at 3:00 p.m. via Zoom. The family requests donations in Richard's memory to the Children's National Hospital, 111 Michigan Avenue NW, Washington, D.C., 20010, <https://childrensnational.org/giving>

CHIKES



MARIA MAGDOLNA VADAI CHIKES

Died peacefully Tuesday morning August 11, 2020, at Asbury Park Methodist Village in Gaithersburg, MD. At 98, she was preceded in death by her beloved husband of 53 years, Dr. Tibor Chikes of Washington, DC. Survivors include four sons and their wives, Csaba and Cathy Chikes of Falls Church, VA, Dr. Peter and Nancy Chikes of Concord, NC, Gabe and Kristy Chikes of Germantown, MD, Dr. Ben and Anne Chikes of Litzitz, PA, 12 grandchildren; and nine great-grandchildren.

Born August 1, 1922, in Budapest, Hungary, she was the daughter of Maria and Ferenc Vadai. Amidst the twilight charms of the fading Hapsburg empire, her parents raised their only child in Kisújszállás where her mother was school director of the all-girls elementary and middle schools. Maria's father was director of the all-boys college preparatory high school, Moricz Zsigmond. They instilled in her a lifelong interest and curiosity for culture, literature, art, and music. She married a young minister, Dr. Tibor Chikes, in 1942. They all survived World War II, sheltering in a Budapest air raid cellar during the concluding house-to-house battles during the siege of Budapest in 1945. The Red Army's ultimate victory resulted in the 46-year Soviet military occupation of Hungary.

The congregation at Parkside United Church of Christ, founded in 1900 by Hungarian immigrants in Phoenixville, PA, invited Tibor to serve as their minister, so, in July 1947, she and Tibor immigrated to America with their two young sons. They later moved to Pittsburgh where Tibor served as the Minister of Counseling at Baldwin Community United Methodist Church. Maria was an active partner and support to her husband, the Hungarian-American congregations, and through both, other refugees fleeing Soviet-occupied Hungary after the failed 1956 revolution.

In 1960, they settled in northwest Washington DC with their now four sons when her husband joined the faculty of Wesley Theological Seminary. Maria lived in the same house in DC for over 55 years and considered herself a proud Washingtoner. She remained a lifelong avid reader of literature and news including the daily print edition of The Washington Post. For eight years, she worked at the Tenley-Friendship Neighborhood Library, a branch of the District of Columbia Public Library System. She eventually gave up the library position to nurse Tibor through Parkinson's disease until his death in 1996.

Together with Wesley Seminary leadership, Maria created a graduate scholarship in Tibor's honor to annually support seminary graduate students from his alma mater in Hungary, the University of Debrecen. Over the next two decades, she advocated for and supported eleven students for two years each through the program. They have all gone on to careers as ministers and church leaders throughout North America and Europe.

On Friday, September 18, 2020, a small, restricted by COVID, group of family and friends gathered at the Wesley Seminary's Oxnham Chapel for a private service. Her extended family joined virtually. A larger public memorial/celebration of life service is planned for a later date post-pandemic. In lieu of flowers, please send donations to the Tibor and Maria Chikes Scholarship Program, Wesley Theological Seminary, 4500 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20016.

When the need arises, let families find you in
the Funeral Services Directory.To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory,
please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

WAGHELSTEIN



MITZI BOOKOFF WAGHELSTEIN
On Wednesday, October 14, 2020, MITZI BOOKOFF WAGHELSTEIN of Rockville, MD. Beloved wife of the late Marvin Waghelstein. Devoted mother of Alan (Elyse) Waghelstein, Nancy (Stewart) Cherner, Diane (Steven) Jaffee and David (Ellen) Waghelstein. Loving grandmother of Breckin Waghelstein (Sarah Thibault), Michael (Jennifer) Cherner, Carey (Leigh) Cherner, Brian (Jordan) Jaffee, Scott Jaffee, Matthew (Madeline) Jaffee, Andrea (Brian) Wishan and Evan (Dara Busman) Waghelstein. Cherished great-grandmother of Sloane, Emmie, Carson and Parker D'Sener, Sloan and Campbell Jaffee and Aaron Wishan. Dear sister of Sheila Rossan (Alfred Greenberg), and sister-in-law to the late Shirlene (the late Al) Platshon and the late Sidney Waghelstein. Loving aunt to Mark (Leslie) Platshon, Judy Platshon and Benjamin (Charlotta) Rossan; also survived by her devoted caregivers, Jane Wamoyo and Donovan Lewis. Funeral services will be held privately. In lieu of flowers, memorial contributions may be made to St. Jude Children's Research Hospital or the charity of your choice. Arrangements entrusted to TORCHINSKY HEBREW FUNERAL HOME, 202-541-1001.

YUAN

LUN LEE YUAN

(Age 97)

Born in Shanghai China in 1923, and passed away on October 9, 2020 in Bethesda, MD. Lee, as all knew him, earned his undergraduate degree at Jiaotong University in China. After arriving in the United States in 1947, he earned a PhD in chemical engineering from the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago. Lee spent his entire professional career with American Cyanamid Company beginning in 1952. At his retirement in 1988, first as a chemical engineer in Stamford, CT, an executive in their New York and Wayne, NJ offices, a management specialist across Asia, and General Manager of Cyanamid Taiwan. Lee was of a last generation of engineer to enter management and remain with the same company throughout his career, finding new opportunities for success and adventure spanning a rewarding 36 years of employment. In 1980, he was reunited with his parents in Shanghai after a 33-year separation and made many subsequent trips to China to visit his family. After retirement in 1988, Lee settled in Wayne, NJ where he led several entrepreneurial enterprises in partnership with former colleagues who continued to be lifelong friends. Lee moved to McLean, VA in 2014 to be closer to his family and was an avid and dedicated gardener and enthusiastic bonsai practitioner, holding memberships with the Northern New Jersey Bonsai Society, and later with the Northern Virginia Bonsai Society. He was a thoroughly engaged and devoted father, grandfather and great-grandfather, caring brother, uncle and great-uncle, and a loyal friend and colleague to many over the years. Lee is survived by his wife of 72 years, Rosaline; son, Milton (Linda); daughter, Nancy; granddaughter, Katherine (Douglas); great-grandson, Jordan Lee; sister, Lorraine Li; as well as nieces and nephews in Shanghai, Toronto, and the U.S. Virtual service planned for Saturday, October 17, 2020. Funeral services provided by Murphy Funeral Home, Falls Church, VA.

DEATH NOTICE



FRANK F. EVEREST, JR.

Frank F. Everest, Jr., roamed the Alaskan wilderness when he was a young boy, soared through the air when he was a fighter pilot, and completed his final journey October 11, 2020, when he passed away peacefully at home, with family by his side.

Frank was born in Galveston, Texas on December 31, 1931, the only son of General Frank F. Everest, Sr. He grew up in a military family and lived on bases around the country and in Charleston, West Virginia when his father was deployed during World War II.

Frank loved to tell his children and his grandchildren stories about living off the land in Alaska, his journey down the Al-Can Highway, and extended time with family in Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he grew close to his Uncle Charlie.

Frank returned to Iowa for college and played football at Iowa State. He left school early to join the Air Force. During flight school and early in his military career, Frank met the love of his life on a blind date. The night they met he told Jean that he was going to marry her one day. Jean's father, Carlyle Boguess, approved and their life together began on November 24, 1954. Their love for each other lasted 65 years and only ended when Jean passed away in 2019.

Their lives were filled with passion and family. Each new duty assignment seemed to bring another child, first when Hank was born in Victoria, Texas, and when the next son, Michael, was born in Germany. Many Frank told many stories about that post-in Germany, including mock dog fights in training and how the cockpit in his fighter suddenly lost pressure at 40,000 feet, puncturing his eardrum.

Frank wanted Jean to see the family farm as soon as possible, so they went to Iowa on their honeymoon. Jean learned that farm life starts before dawn and that slopping the pigs is just one of the chores. Frank planned to retire and start farming when he was discharged from the Air Force.



ROBERT D. WOOTEN "Dave"

Robert D. "Dave" Wooten, age 91, died of sepsis on September 21, 2020 at Oak Hill Hospital in Spring Hill, FL. He had been a long-time resident of Montgomery County, living in Chevy Chase from 1956 until 1961 and the Montrose community of south Rockville from 1961 until 2019.

Born Robert David Wooten in Atlanta on August 25, 1929, to George F. Wooten, an accountant, and Jermina Wooten, nee Hogan, he lived in Jacksonville, Florida during the early years of his life until the elder Mr. Wooten lost his accounting job during the Depression. The family moved Jacksonville to Tavares, Lake County, Florida where, by Mr. Wooten's account, they rented a house for \$12/month, and supplemented their nutritional needs by fishing and hunting. In Tavares, Wooten recalled picking blackberries and selling them for a nickel a quart.

At times, even this was not enough and 'David', as he was then known, was often bused away with his elder brother, George,

IN MEMORIAM

ALPERSTEIN

ETHAN ROSS ALPERSTEIN
12/09/1991-10/17/2002

No matter what anyone says about grief and about time healing all wounds, the truth is there are certain sorrows that never fade away until the heart stops beating and the last breath is taken. We miss you each and every day, especially at times of family celebrations and holidays. Our love for you is everlasting.

Our beautiful and precious Ethan,
forever you will live in our hearts.

REED

VINCENT EMORY REED
March 1, 1928 – October 17, 2017

In loving memory of my dear husband. Three years ago today God took you home with him. God saw that you were weary and there was no cure to be. He gently whispered "Vince" it is time to come home with me. We love you and miss you very much.

Rest in peace with God.

Wife – Frances B. Reed
Family and Friends



DEATH NOTICE

EVEREST

Uncle Charlie had some other ideas for the young couple after he met Jean's father at their wedding. Carlyle started a steel fabrication company, Southern Iron Works, and told Frank he had a job waiting for him. Uncle Charlie gave Frank the best advice of his business career when he said "Rube, if I were you, I would go to Virginia and go to work for Carlyle." And so he did.

Frank and Jean moved to Alexandria, Virginia when he was discharged from the Air Force and remained there for the rest of their lives. Frank went to work in the business and eventually became Carlyle's right-hand man, both in real estate development and as a top executive at Southern Iron Works.

Frank did not give up farming. He planted bigger and bigger gardens, finally with rows and rows of corn in a large vacant lot. When Frank finished his day at the office he went to work at home in his garden and in his workshop.

What started out in the garden ended up on the table for their five children, Chuck, Hank, Mike, Jenny, and Marty. Frank often said that Jean cooked for all seven family members for years so then he cooked for Jean until the end of her life.

Frank loved to be outside in the garden and in the wilderness. He fished the Fryling Pan River as a boy and later fished the Alaska with friends and family. Frank also loved to hunt birds in North America and big game in Africa. He was hard of hearing and always said it was his punctured ear drum, never the thousands of rifle shots and shotgun blasts from hunting.

Frank took his family camping in the Virginia mountains and then to the Colorado mountains. He taught his children to ski by leading them down the slopes like a line of ducklings. Later he took his extended family on more ski trips, but he sent his grandchildren to ski school.

Frank was welcoming to all, even the teenagers that dated his daughters and married in the family. He cherished his grandchildren and each visit. He was genuinely interested in other people, often direct, and always honest. He had many friends from all walks of life.

Frank is survived by Hank Everest and his wife, Natalie; Jenny Purcell and her husband, Dave; Marty Irvine and her husband, Chris; nine grandchildren; and seven great-grandchildren.

Frank's family is especially grateful to Josie Velasquez, who cared for him through his last days and also grateful to the caregivers from Goodwin House.

Please make a donation to a charity of your choice instead of sending flowers. The family is having a private service and hopes to later gather and celebrate Frank F. Everest, Jr., may God rest his soul.

WOOTEN

Jr. to stay with relatives, including a year-long stay with an uncle in Chula, Georgia who had a large farm. Here, Wooten and his older brother, George, Jr., helped pick cotton, can vegetables, and learned to ride horses bareback.

The family moved to Atlanta for about a year in 1941 and then to Georgetown, Washington DC where Wooten delivered newspapers and attended McKinley High School. After graduating, Wooten moved back to Atlanta to study engineering at Georgia Tech. It was here that he met and married Patricia Bright, a native of England who grew up in the London area and witnessed the Blitz.

After Mr Wooten's graduation with a degree in Mechanical Engineering, the Wootens eventually moved to the DC suburbs of Maryland where he worked mostly as a designer of industrial machinery. During the '60s, he worked for Aerojet-General in Frederick when Aerojet was a division of General Tire. During most of the '70s and early '80s, he worked for Tracor Applied Sciences in Rockville. But his best job, by his own account, was at Fusion Systems Corporation, a Rockville company where Wooten designed machines used in the production of semiconductor chips. He retired from Fusion in the 1990s. Mr. Wooten was credited with several patents during his tenure with Aerojet and Fusion.

Patricia Wooten passed away in 2009 and Mr Wooten continued to live at their house in Rockville until 2019, when he moved to an Assisted Living Facility in Spring Hill, Florida.

Mr Wooten leaves two sons, David and Stephen, four grandchildren, Justin, William, Britton and Laura, and three great-grandchildren, Dinah, Claire and Everett. Also, a niece, Patricia Aycock-Mertz, living in Rockville. No services are planned at this time.

IN MEMORIAM

TURNER



EDITH SMITH TURNER

Dearest Mama, Mother, Dee Dee: Our hearts and lives have an emptiness because we miss you so much. But we know you are Home with Our Lord, the God Who keeps his eye on every sparrow, and Who took you gently Home. We Love you very much.

In Loving Memory,
Your Family,
Kathryn, Sandra, Kenyatta, and Bob, the rest of your family and your many friends

DEATH NOTICE

DIXON



ANN ELIZABETH DIXON (Age 64)

Of Bowie, MD, passed peacefully at home on September 26, 2020, after a 25-year battle with breast cancer. She was a courageous warrior, with her incredible optimism, joy for everything to do with life. Our 1% miracle. Ann was born in York, PA, August 20, 1956 and lived in Dallastown, PA, until accepting her first professional job in Washington, DC in 1979. She received her BS from Western Maryland College and her MS in Library Science from Catholic University. She held various management positions, up to Executive Vice President of NCI, inc of which she was a founding employee. In 2015, she retired after working 35 years as a federal government contractor in the information management area for NASA. During her retirement, Ann was an active member of the Friends of the Bowie Library, serving as their President, Secretary and Treasurer.

She earned her Private Pilot Certificate in 1983, (one of only 23,000 women in the United States) she enjoyed flying with her husband Ron. Ann was an avid reader, (she always had 3 or 4 going at a time) especially nonfiction, including biographies/autobiographies, as well as service about places she was going to travel to. She travelled the world with her husband, Ron, and enjoyed their many adventures. She found beauty in nature and loved to sit in the sun and read on her porch. She became quite a good amateur photographer after taking painting pictures of plants and flowers from her walks in the many parks for her family to enjoy. Ann was a devoted wife, stepmother, daughter, sister, cousin, friend and the best Auntie Ann to her many nieces, nephews and great nieces, always on the floor playing and talking to them. We will all miss her many handmade Ann greeting cards and the unfailing love she had for all of us.

She is survived by her husband, Ronald Dixon of Bowie, MD, daughters, Cheryl Mauri (Robert) and Patti Wynn (Lester), from the Seattle, WA Area. Parents, Duane and Shirley Weigel of York, PA, sisters, Cathy Vicchiotti (Michael), Susan Weigel, and brother, Eric Weigel (Lorie), brother-in-law, Bill Dixon (Shirley) and sister-in-law, Shelley Malone (Randi).

No services scheduled. In lieu of flowers please consider honoring Ann's life by making a donation to your local library.

SALEM



RAUF I. SALEM (Age 83)

Passed away at home on Saturday, October 10, 2020. He was surrounded by his beloved wife of 52 years, Carolyn L. (Woodson) Salem; and sons, Jeffery R. (Christie) Salem, and Gregory R. (Roxanne) Salem. He was loved by his five grandchildren and three great-grandchildren. He was also survived by three brothers, Anton (Louisa) Salem, Jad Salem, and George Salem; and one sister, Khawla Issa. He was preceded in death by his parents, George (Issa) Salem and Helanah; and his sister, Virginia Salem. Ray was the former owner of George's General Store in Centerville, and enjoyed working at Costco for 27 years. He loved his family, friends, and his beloved dog, DeeDee. The family will receive friends from 5 to 8 p.m. on Monday, October 19, 2020, at Demaine Funeral Home, Fairfax, VA. A funeral service will be held at 12:30 p.m. on Tuesday, October 20, 2020 in the funeral home chapel. Interment will follow in Fairfax City Cemetery. Online condolences may be sent at

www.demaineairfaxfuneralhome.com

SMITH



JEAN MARIE CALHOUN SMITH

Passed peacefully in her sleep on October 10, 2020. Jean was born in Washington, DC, on October 18, 1929 and spent some of her childhood in Georgia. Jean graduated from Miner Teachers College with a teaching degree. She married Ira Smith in 1951 and from that union they were blessed with four beautiful children. Jean was a long-standing member of Calvary Episcopal Church of Washington, DC. She was active in many guilds and served as a lay minister until her health no longer allowed her to continue. Jean taught in the Washington, DC, public school system for over 30 years with the majority of her career at Kimball Elementary. She also held office for multiple terms as an executive board member of the DC Teachers Union. Jean retired from teaching in the mid 1980's. She traveled as a DC delegate for the Democratic presidential conventions. Jean spent her leisure years enjoying her family and friends. Jean was preceded in death by her husband Ira and daughter Deborah. She is survived by her children Ira, Diane and Dwayne, grandchildren and great grandchildren. The family will celebrate her wonderful life privately at a time to be determined.

DEATH NOTICE

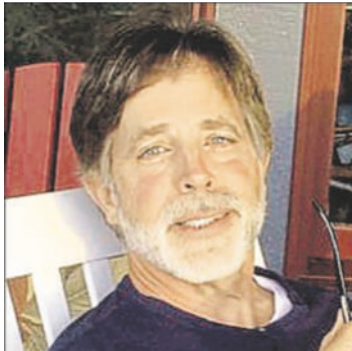
TUCKER



EVELYN DELORES TUCKER

Entered into eternal rest on Saturday, October 7, 2020. She was the oldest of seven siblings. Evelyn is survived by her loving husband, Thomas Tucker, who shared 52 years of marriage; loving children, Donnell Frazier, Donna Frazier (Tina) and Tracey Richardson. Also survived by four grandchildren, Tiara, Jordan, Sean and Erin; three great-grandchildren, Tre, Tiana and Amir; five siblings, Diane Manago, Ronald (Theresa) Wiley, Arnold (Geneva) Wiley, Vincent (Carolyn) Dunlap, Larry (Patricia) Dunlap; loving aunt, Dorothy Baylor. Also survived by a host of nieces, nephews, godchildren, many other loving relatives and friends. She was preceded in death by her youngest sister, Faye Rainey. Friends may visit with the family on Tuesday, October 20 from 10 a.m. until time of service at 11 a.m. at Hodges & Edwards Funeral Home, 3910 Silver Hill Rd., Suitland, MD. Interment Washington National Cemetery. Notice will be streamed live on YouTube at <https://youtu.be/hc0idVXno> and on Hodges & Edwards Facebook page.

WRIGHT

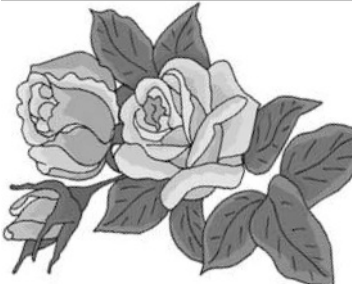
JOHN JOSEPH WRIGHT
(Age 68)

Died on October 11, 2020 at his home in Morgantown, MD. Born in Silver Spring, MD, he resided in Chesapeake Beach, MD most of his adult life, where he raised his family. During his 32-year career with the Department of Defense, John was consistently recognized for outstanding performance.

John retired to the mountains of North Carolina in 2007 to fulfill his dream of creating a sustainable mountain farm. With wife Rita he developed extensive gardens, raised hogs for local breweries, volunteered with the Marshall Native Gardens and the Madison County Library, and entertained a constant stream of family and friends, to whom he was affectionately known as "The Legend." John's greatest joys were watching his children develop into exceptional adults, holding each new grandson, and enjoying the mountain view from his porch at "Shangri-la" as he sipped an evening "medicinal."

John was preceded in death by his parents, Jack and Kathleen Wright, and brother, Herbie. He is survived by his wife, Rita Pelczar, daughter, Alice Wright (Cameron Gokee); sons Jack Wright (Sophia Reim), and Curtis Wright (Emily); grandsons, Emmett and Forrest Gokee, and Griffin Wright; and eight loving siblings. He will be missed by a large extended family and many wonderful friends.

No services are planned at this time. In lieu of flowers, gifts of condolence may be sent to Burke County Hospice (www.burkehospice.org) or Manna Food Bank in Asheville, NC (www.mannafoodbank.org). Please go to john-joseph-wright.forevermissed.com to sign John's memorial page.



CEMETERY LOTS

Ft. Lincoln Cemetery - 3 Prime Lots - Sites 3-4-5; Blk 6 immediately right by the clock. Sales Ofc. states each Lot sells for \$9,000 sell for \$6,000 or negotiable. Contact: Ray at 443-223-6568 leave message.

DEATH NOTICES

MONDAY-FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.
SATURDAY-SUNDAY 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.

To place a notice, call:

202-334-4122
800-627-1150 ext 4-4122

FAX:
202-334-7188

EMAIL:
deathnotices@washpost.com

Email and faxes MUST include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible billing party. Fax & email deadline - 3 p.m. daily Phone-in deadline 4 p.m. M-F 3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2020 RATES:

(PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY

Black & White

1" - \$150 (text only)

2" - \$340 (text only)

3" - \$490

4" - \$535

5" - \$678

SUNDAY

Black & White

1" - \$179 (text only)

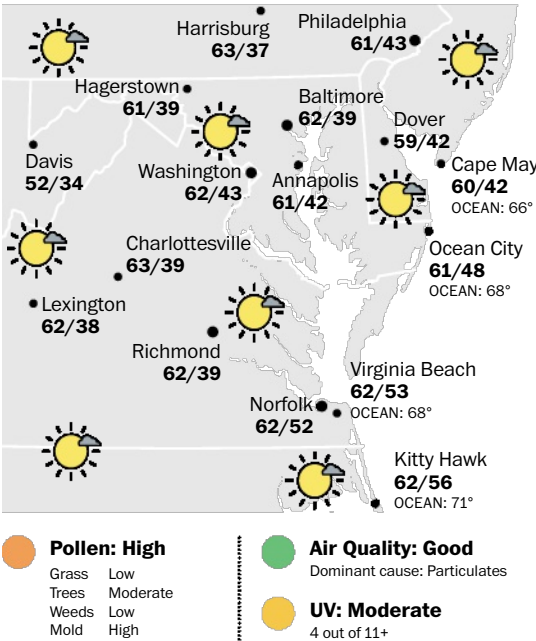
THE WEATHER

WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WEATHER • TWITTER: @CAPITALWEATHER • FACEBOOK.COM/CAPITALWEATHER

A beautiful fall day

 Lots of sunshine plus minimal wind equals a good time. Highs will be in the upper 50s to lower 60s. Northerly winds will be about 5 mph. Tonight, frost is possible west and north of town, with lows dipping into the 30s. Skies should be mostly clear.

REGION



Blue Ridge: Today, mostly sunny. High 46–52. Wind northeast 6–12 mph. Tonight, mostly clear. Low 31–39. Wind south 4–8 mph. Sunday, partly sunny. High 50–54. Wind south 6–12 mph. Monday, partly sunny, afternoon shower north. High 56–60.

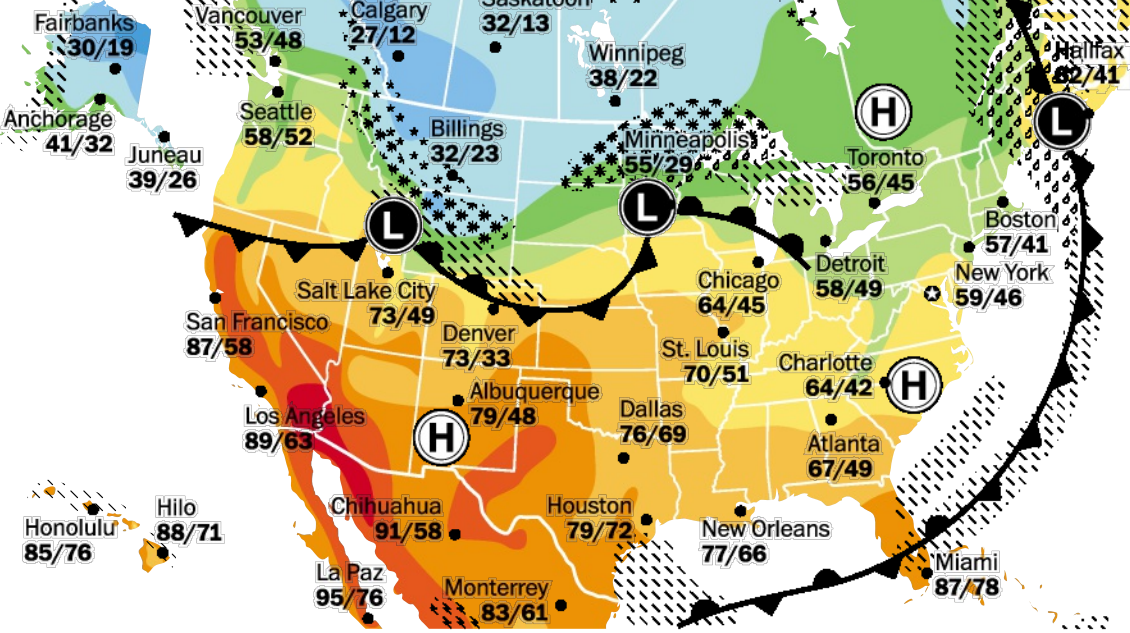
Atlantic beaches: Today, mostly sunny, breezy. High 59–63. Wind north 10–20 mph. Tonight, clear. Low 43–52. Wind south 4–8 mph. Sunday, mostly sunny. High 65–69. Wind southeast 6–12 mph. Monday, partly sunny. High 67–72.

Waterways: *Upper Potomac River:* Today, mostly sunny. Wind north 4–8 knots. Waves less than a foot. Visibility clear. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, small craft advisory, mostly sunny. Wind north 8–16 knots. Waves 1 foot or less on the Potomac, 2–3 feet on Chesapeake Bay. • *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 3.20 feet today, with no change of 3.20 Sunday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in Bold)				
Washington	3:44 a.m.	8:53 a.m.	3:51 p.m.	9:13 p.m.
Annapolis	12:02 a.m.	5:48 a.m.	12:05 p.m.	6:40 p.m.
Ocean City	2:07 a.m.	8:20 a.m.	2:43 p.m.	8:44 p.m.
Norfolk	4:04 a.m.	10:25 a.m.	4:44 p.m.	10:49 p.m.
Point Lookout	1:50 a.m.	8:02 a.m.	2:32 p.m.	9:16 p.m.

Today	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday
Mostly sunny	Mostly sunny	Partly sunny	Partly sunny	Partly sunny	Sunny, warm
					
62° 43°	65° 51°	71° 55°	76° 59°	76° 61°	79° 62°
FEELS*: 64°	FEELS: 65°	FEELS: 70°	FEELS: 76°	FEELS: 76°	FEELS: 79°
CHNCE PRECIP: 0%	P: 0%	P: 10%	P: 10%	P: 20%	P: 20%
WIND: NW 6–12 mph	W: S 6–12 mph	W: S 6–12 mph	W: SSW 6–12 mph	W: SSW 6–12 mph	W: SSW 6–12 mph
HUMIDITY: Low	H: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: Moderate

NATION



NATIONAL	Today	Tomorrow	Des Moines	69/34/p	46/32/r	Oklahoma City	75/60/s	69/43/p	WORLD	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	56/34/p	59/44/p	Detroit	58/49/c	59/39/c	Omaha	70/35/p	46/32/c	Addis Ababa	71/55/p	72/51/p
Albuquerque	79/48/s	80/49/s	El Paso	89/58/s	91/55/s	Orlando	85/72/p	85/72/sh	Amsterdam	53/43/p	55/44/sh
Anchorage	41/32/p	39/32/c	Fairbanks, AK	30/19/p	28/21/p	Philadelphia	61/43/s	65/50/p	Jerusalem	79/61/s	81/62/s
Atlanta	67/49/s	71/55/p	Fargo, ND	40/20/sn	39/20/c	Phoenix	99/67/s	98/67/s	Athens	79/61/p	78/62/sh
Austin	80/69/p	90/71/p	Hartford, CT	59/34/p	62/43/p	Pittsburgh	57/40/s	63/48/p	Auckland	62/47/s	64/58/p
Baltimore	62/39/s	66/49/p	Honolulu	85/76/s	86/75/sh	Portland, ME	50/35/s	60/42/c	Baghdad	96/63/p	96/63/p
Billings, MT	32/23/sn	28/23/sn	Houston	79/72/p	86/74/p	Portland, OR	64/52/c	62/52/p	Bangkok	84/74/t	82/73/r
Birmingham	70/52/s	76/60/s	Indianapolis	64/50/p	63/45/sh	Providence, RI	59/38/r	62/44/p	Beijing	72/42/s	71/41/p
Bismarck, ND	38/19/sn	37/19/c	Jackson, MS	73/54/s	81/64/s	Raleigh, NC	63/41/s	68/49/s	Berlin	51/41/c	49/39/sh
Boise	67/44/p	65/46/p	Jacksonville, FL	74/64/p	79/66/p	Reno, NV	82/46/s	81/44/s	Bogota	67/49/c	67/49/c
Boston	57/41/r	61/46/s	Kansas City, MO	72/42/s	46/37/sh	Richmond	62/39/s	67/49/s	Brussels	53/41/p	55/43/c
Buffalo	56/45/p	62/48/s	Las Vegas	92/62/s	92/63/s	Sacramento	92/56/s	90/53/s	Buenos Aires	77/67/p	82/71/s
Burlington, VT	55/39/p	61/49/p	Little Rock	70/57/s	75/64/c	St. Louis	70/51/s	60/44/sh	Cairo	87/66/s	88/69/s
Charleston, SC	70/54/s	75/58/p	Los Angeles	89/63/s	83/62/s	St. Thomas, VI	86/79/sh	87/78/sh	Caracas	77/66/t	77/65/t
Charlotte, NC	60/40/s	69/50/p	Louisville	66/50/s	66/57/c	Salt Lake City	73/49/s	72/50/s	Copenhagen	52/45/p	52/42/c
Charlotte	64/42/s	68/46/s	Memphis	69/56/s	75/64/c	San Diego	80/64/p	79/64/p	Dakar	89/80/p	89/81/s
Cheyenne, WY	62/29/p	49/37/p	Miami	87/78/t	85/78/t	San Francisco	87/58/s	78/56/p	Dublin	52/43/p	55/49/p
Chicago	64/45/s	46/35/sh	Milwaukee	60/42/sh	46/34/p	San Juan, PR	87/77/sh	88/77/sh	Edinburgh	51/42/c	50/45/p
Cincinnati	63/47/s	63/52/sh	Minneapolis	55/29/p	43/27/c	Seattle	58/52/c	61/53/sh	Frankfurt	50/40/p	54/42/c
Cleveland	58/47/p	60/47/p	Nashville	68/50/s	71/61/p	Spokane, WA	58/41/p	52/41/r	Geneva	55/42/c	56/38/p
Dallas	76/69/s	87/61/p	New Orleans	77/66/s	84/71/p	Syracuse	59/39/p	62/49/p	Ham., Bermuda	81/76/p	81/76/s
Denver	73/33/p	58/39/p	New York City	59/46/p	62/52/p	Tampa	88/72/s	88/72/t	Helsinki	49/39/p	43/30/r
			Norfolk	62/52/s	69/58/s	Wichita	76/47/s	50/39/p	Ho Chi Minh City	84/76/t	87/76/sh

At Howard, homecoming is a deep-seated tradition

HOMECOMING FROM B1

world.”

Homecoming typically attracts thousands of Howard parents, students, alumni, friends and professors to the campus in Northwest Washington every year. Students from neighboring schools and nearby historically Black colleges and universities attend, too, eager to get a taste of one of the most popular celebrations in the country.

This year’s event, like the school year and everything else, will be very different. Unable to meet in person because of the pandemic, the university organized a slate of digital events — including a virtual Yardfest and a gospel concert this weekend — to bring the community together through their screens.

It’s a necessary sacrifice, said university President Wayne A.I. Frederick, to protect the community from a potential super-spreader event.

But for some people, what’s lost this year feels greater. Homecoming, a massive celebration of Blackness that extends beyond a single campus, is also a salve — to nearly eight months of profound loss and a summer of protests of violence against Black people.

And, in a year when one of Howard’s own, Sen. Kamala D. Harris, became the first HBCU alum to be tapped for a major-party presidential ticket, many were looking forward to the face-to-face fellowship.

“Homecoming is about coming home, as it says, and that means coming back to a place that’s safe and has given you so much,” Frederick said. “This year, we have to recognize that that place is within us and we don’t necessarily need a physical space.”

‘One of the greatest events’

The homecoming traditions at Howard started with a sports

rivalry. Throngs of students gathered almost every fall, starting in the late 19th century, for the “Original Negro Gridiron Classic” between Howard and Lincoln University, an HBCU in southeast Pennsylvania.

It was one of the most important athletic and social events for Black college students, declared the Hilltop, Howard’s campus newspaper, in 1924. “What the Harvard-Yale game and the Army-Navy struggle are to white Americans, the Howard-Lincoln classic is to Negroes,” the newspaper reported.

From its first official homecoming that year, students and alumni were determined to make the occasion “one of the greatest events of the school year.” Through the years, they have added more events: brunches, fashion shows, concerts, and fraternity and sorority step shows.

Jean C. Tapscott has been attending the alumni brunch for almost 30 years. The event used to include a fashion show. Two years ago, it was replaced by a jazz show, Tapscott said.

“It’s an opportunity for graduates, or even the younger ones, to come back and have fellowship and also talk about what’s been going on in their lives,” said Tapscott, who graduated in 1963 with a bachelor’s degree in sociology then stayed for another two years to earn her master’s in social work.

And then there’s Showtime. Howard’s marching band, with its legendary brassy renditions of the latest hits and choreography, is as big a draw as almost any event in the week-long lineup.

Senior Kayla Lennon is the third generation of her family to attend an HBCU. Growing up in Cincinnati, she never attended homecoming at her parents’ alma maters.

The festivities at Howard, where Lennon’s grandmother is



MARVIN JOSEPH/THE WASHINGTON POST

Grant Robertson and Kyla Cole, last year’s Mr. and Miss Howard, wave to spectators during the homecoming parade.

an alumna, exceeded her expectations. She was so enamored when she saw the marching band her freshman year that she tried out as a sophomore.

Now in her third year with Showtime, Lennon was looking forward to playing her clarinet one last time at Homecoming. And she will, just not in front of a live audience.

The band is hosting a virtual event Saturday with alumni to raise money for new uniforms. “People are excited, sad and longing for the experience of getting to be with each other,” said Lennon, who studies political science and sociology.

Taking the traditions online

Charlie Lewis, president of the university’s alumni association, has returned to “the Mecca” — the name the community has given to Howard — nearly every year since graduating in 1989.

“Every time I go back, I’m always looking for baby bison,” Lewis said, referring to the teenage children of alumni or, in his eyes, future Howard students.

Howard introduced Lewis to

life outside his small hometown in Georgia, he said. He joined “everything you can name” when he landed on campus — the yearbook club, student government, finance clubs.

Homecoming is a chance to celebrate those experiences, he said.

“Even though we’re not on the Yard this year, we’re going to have a wonderful virtual experience,” Lewis said. “It’s not going to be the same, but we’ll still be able to come together.”

This year’s homecoming attendees are gathering over the theme of advocacy, a concept inspired by a summer of social unrest and intended to spark conversations about racial justice, said Frederick, the university’s president.

Officials organized events, including a national conference to amplify social and racial justice work, a reception to celebrate LGBTQ+ activism and a tribute to actor and alum Chadwick Boseman, who died in August. The streamed events are open to the public.

The university will also at-

tempt to re-create Yardfest, traditionally a festival and concert on the university’s iconic Yard. With its grassy patches and crisscrossing pathways, the Yard is where the historically Black Greek sororities and fraternities honor their organizations and sing songs during homecoming.

“It’s really the cultural epicenter of the university,” said Taylor Jones, who graduated in May with a history degree.

“When I look at old pictures of students at Howard in the 1930s and 1940s and they’re on the Yard, it looks almost exactly as it does now,” Jones said. “It’s surreal to think I’m walking across the same Yard Toni Morrison walked across.”

For associate professor Jennifer Thomas, homecoming has always been the can’t-miss event of the school year. And her connection goes deeper than many. As a junior in 1987, Thomas reigned over events as Miss Howard, the equivalent of homecoming queen.

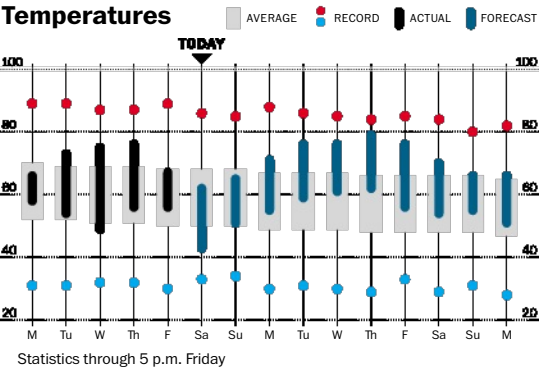
But “we say Miss Howard and Mr. Howard because it represents the institution and why we’re here. And I took that very seriously at the time and I still do now,” said Thomas, who has taught broadcast journalism at her alma mater since 2013.

Homecoming, for Thomas, has always been a chance to reconnect on the Yard with her sisters in Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, eat great food and attend the big-name concerts. The event is also an opportunity to network, look to the future and relish being in a sea of talented cohorts.

“It’s wonderful to come and see this mosaic of different shades of brown that are there and who are all doing amazing things,” she said.

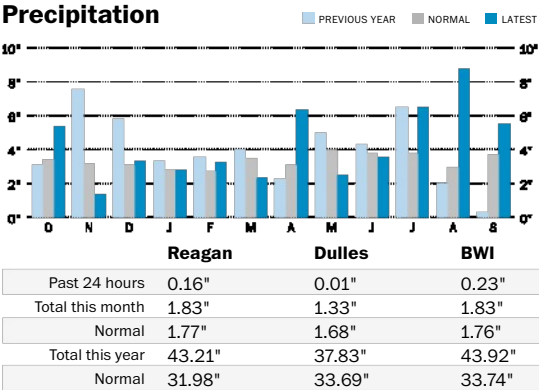
Thomas is inspired by the efforts students and alumni have made to connect with one another in virtual happy hours and

OFFICIAL RECORD



	Reagan	Dulles	BWI
High	67° 2:07 a.m.	68° 1:00 a.m.	66° 3:00 a.m.
Low	56° 9:00 a.m.	57° 8:00 a.m.	54° 9:00 a.m.
Normal	68°/50°	68°/44°	67°/45°
Record high	89° 1897	85° 1989	90° 1897
Record low	30° 1876	30° 1986	30° 1876

Difference from 30-yr. avg. (Reagan): this month: +1.1° yr. to date: +2.2°



Moon Phases				Solar system			
							
Oct 23	Oct 31	Nov 8	Nov 14	Sun	Rise	Set	
First Quarter	Full	Last Quarter	New	Sun	7:20 a.m.	6:26 p.m.	
				Venus	8:06 a.m.	7:19 p.m.	
				Mars	4:15 a.m.	5:00 p.m.	
				Jupiter	6:22 p.m.	7:02 a.m.	
				Saturn	1:59 p.m.	11:30 a.m.	
					2:21 p.m.	12:01 a.m.	

	Today	Tomorrow	Today	Tomorrow	Today	Tomorrow
Hong Kong	84/73/p	84/72/p	Rio de Janeiro	75/67/p	79/70/p	
Islamabad	90/61/p	89/59/p	Riyadh	91/60/p	92/61/s	
Istanbul	77/61/p	71/60/p	Rome	64/48/sh	66/48/p	
Jerusalem	79/61/s	81/62/s	San Salvador	84/69/t	86/68/t	
Johannesburg	84/63/s	87/66/p	Santiago	83/50/p	78/47/p	
Kabul	77/40/s	64/58/p	Sargjevo	52/37/sh	56/31/p	
Kingston, Jam.	89/79/s	87/78/t	Seoul	66/42/s	68/45/s	
Kolkata	97/81/sh	94/80/t	Shanghai	72/60/t	72/61/p	
Lagos	84/76/t	85/77/t	Singapore	90/79/t	90/79/r	
Lima	67/60/s	67/60/p	Stockholm	49/33/p	41/32/c	
Liston	68/55/p	73/59/p	Sydney	80/67/c	74/59/sh	
London	56/45/s	57/46/p	Taipei City	79/73/r	79/73/c	
Madrid	66/42/p	70/46/p	Tehran	74/51/p	74/51/p	
Manila	89/78/s	86/78/c	Tokyo	57/55/r	66/58/p	
Mexico City	75/51/p	77/53/p	Toronto	56/45/s	57/44/c	
Montreal	56/41/s	52/42/c	Vienna	49/40/s	53/37/c	
Moscow	42/35/p	47/35/r	Warsaw	47/39/c	48/36/sh	
Mumbai	91/79/r	90/79/r				
Nairobi	77/59/r	78/58/c				
New Delhi	93/71/p	93/72/p				
Oslo	49/35/p	48/29/p				
Ottawa	56/37/s	56/41/sh				
Paris	55/42/p	58/41/c				
Prague	46/37/c	49/39/c				

Key: s=sunny, pc=partly cloudy, ec=cloudy, r=rain, sh=showers, th=thunderstorms, sf=snow flurries, sn=snow, foz.

Sources: AccuWeather.com; US Army Centralized Allergen Extract Lab (pollen data); airmow.gov (air quality data); National Weather Service

* AccuWeather's RealFeel Temperature* combines over a dozen factors for an accurate measure of how the conditions really "feel."

Eat This Up: The Washington Post Recipe Finder

Plan meals, try new foods and explore cuisines with our database of tested recipes. Browse hundreds of recipes by column, course, holiday and cuisine. Or search by ingredient or name. From comfort foods to breads, snacks and more, there's truly something you're sure to adore. New entries include Low-Tech Pour-Over Coffee, Flour Tortillas, Walnut and Date-Stuffed Baked Apples and Za'atar Cacio e Pepe, an Italian pasta with a Middle Eastern spice blend.

Plan your next meal at [washingtonpost.com/recipes](https://www.washingtonpost.com/recipes).

State is asked to halt art sale in Baltimore

BY PEGGY MCGLONE

Former trustees, committee members, donors and docents of the Baltimore Museum of Art have asked Maryland officials to halt the institution's plans to sell paintings by Andy Warhol, Clyfford Still and Brice Marden, and to investigate what they describe as irregularities and conflicts of interest surrounding the sales.

In an eight-page letter to Maryland Attorney General Brian E. Frosh and Secretary of State John C. Wobensmith, the 23 signatories charge that the museum's plan is a breach of the public trust and should be stopped.

The Baltimore Museum of Art announced Oct. 2 that it expected to generate \$65 million from the sale of three paintings — Warhol's "The Last Supper," Still's "1957-G" and Marden's "3." It plans to use \$10 million for new art acquisitions and about \$1 million for diversity and equity programs, and will set aside the remaining \$54 million in an endowment for other expenses, including raises for staff.

In announcing the plan, Director Christopher Bedford said that the museum is financially sound and that the sale of three works by White men is intended to address systemic racism and injustice that "should have been addressed with determination centuries ago."

In a statement, the BMA said it is confident that there are no legal issues related to the proposed deaccessioning plan.

In 2018, the museum sold seven paintings, including works by Warhol, Robert Rauschenberg and Kenneth Noland, for \$16.2 million. It used the proceeds to purchase art by women and artists of color.

These latest deaccessions take advantage of a rule change that allows greater

SEE ART ON C4



PHOTOGRAPHY BMA/THE BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART

Clyfford Still's "1957-G."

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

A portrait of NGA's flawed reasoning

BY SEBASTIAN SMEE

The worst move an art museum can make is the one that loses the support of artists. The National Gallery of Art's recent, last-minute decision to postpone "Philip Guston Now" was made to evade — or at least delay and dilute — the potential upset and controversy that Guston's use of clunky, cartoon-inspired images of Ku Klux Klan hoods might provoke.

That call by NGA Director Kaywin Feldman, made in tandem with the directors of three other major museums who were to host the traveling show, has received support from some. But it has ignited its own controversy, upsetting hundreds of leading artists who revere Guston, an artist whose bravery and self-searching insight made him one of the two or three most influential artists of the past half century. Earlier this month, many of America's most celebrated contemporary artists signed a petition that called for the show's reinstatement. "Rarely has there been a better illustration of 'white' culpability than in these powerful men and women's apparent feeling of powerlessness to explain to their public the true power of an artist's work," wrote the authors of an open letter attached to the petition.

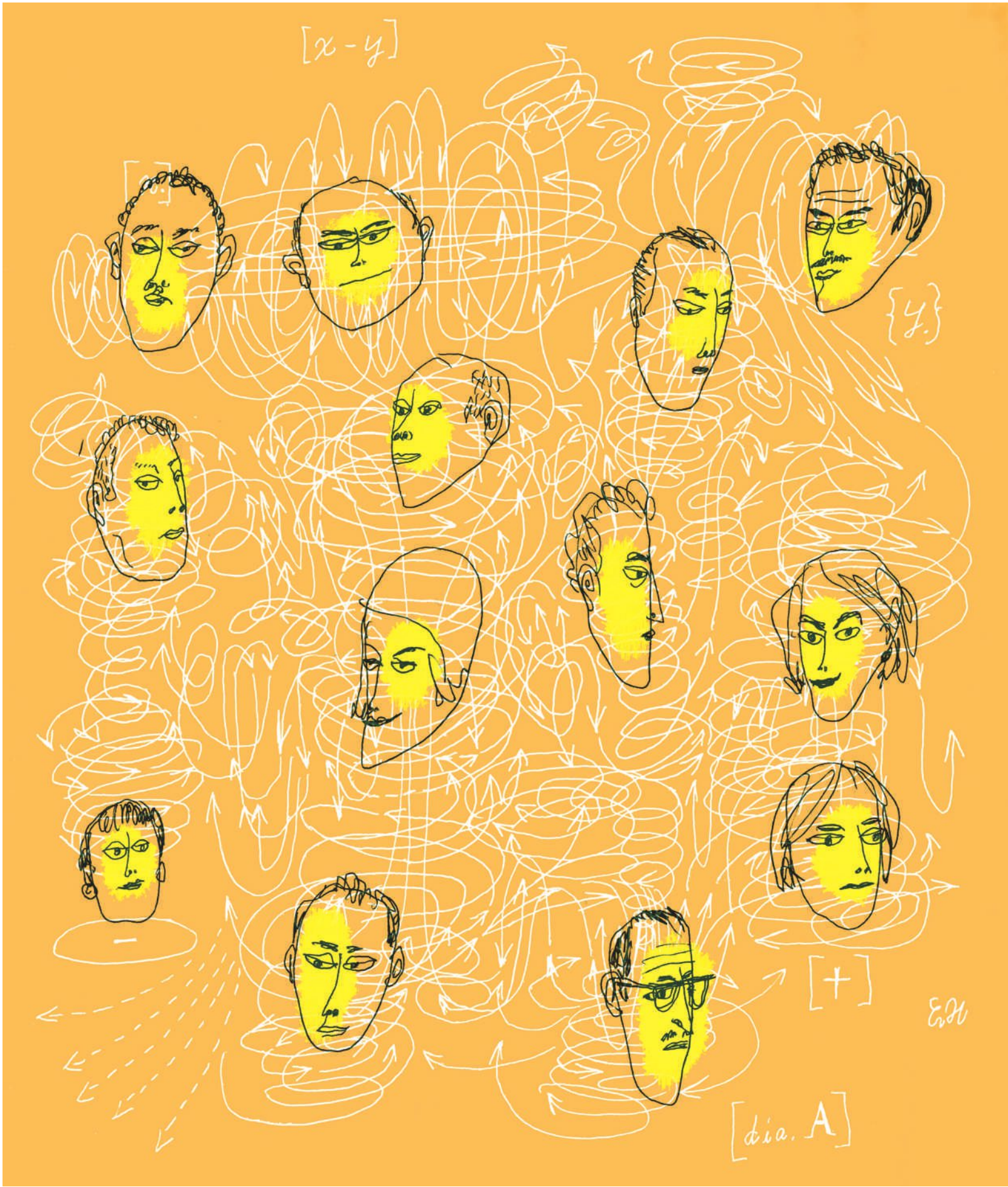
Is this a problem for the NGA?

It is. Art museums exist, perhaps above all else, to inspire the artists of today and tomorrow. Moreover, as it works overtime to diversify its programming, the NGA will want to work with some of the artists who signed the petition, among them internationally acclaimed Black artists Lorna Simpson, Mickalene Thomas, Julie Mehretu, Deana Lawson, Adrian Piper,

SEE NOTEBOOK ON C4

"That smart, awesome person that I used to know just didn't exist anymore."

Jacob, who says he cut off contact with his mother because she "chose QAnon . . . over me."



ERIC HANSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

QAnon is tearing families apart

BY TRAVIS M. ANDREWS

Q. There was a time not long ago when the letter held no special meaning for Jacob, a 24-year-old in Croatia. The 17th letter of the alphabet, usually followed by "u" in English words. What else was there to know? He certainly never expected it to end the tightknit relationship he shared with his mother.

But Jacob, who grew up in the United States, told The Washington Post that he has cut all contact with his mother now that she's become an ardent believer of the QAnon conspiracy theories.

Thousands of people who have seen relationships destroyed by the 'movement' swap stories and find support on Reddit

Though they long held different political beliefs, they had "a really, really strong relationship," he said. "We were inseparable." He had no reason to think anything had changed. But during the holidays in 2019, "our relationship just completely tanked."

QAnon can be traced back to a series of 2017 posts on 4chan, the online message board known for its mixture of trolls and alt-right followers. The poster was someone named "Q," who claimed to be a government insider with Q security clearance, the highest level in the Department of Energy. QAnon's origin matters less than what it's become, an umbrella

SEE QANON ON C2

Escape the horror show that is 2020 with these Halloween films

BY SONIA RAO

Halloween is somehow one of the least scary things going on this month, so we understand if you'd rather not turn on a horror movie right now.

This writer counts herself among the Frankenweenies who would rather mark the holiday this year by watching something campy or cute, with a dash of spookiness. Or maybe cute and spooky, with a dash of camp. Regardless of the campy-cute-spooky ratio, let's just agree that Michael Myers and Co. are most unwelcome.

Here are a dozen such movies to watch now. (Note that this list omits rentals and includes only titles that are available to stream on popular services for no additional cost. Please don't yell about "Beetlejuice.")



SCOTT YAMANO/NETFLIX/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Tim Meadows and Maya Rudolph star in Netflix's "Hubie Halloween," one of a dozen movies streaming online that scare up some laughs.

"The Addams Family" (1991)

Streaming on Amazon, "The Addams Family" is such a classic that it isn't really necessary to describe why it's a perfect watch for Halloween, is it? There's no such thing as too much Anjelica Huston. But if for whatever reason you do feel a need to mix it up, an animated "Addams Family" film is streaming on Hulu.

"Clue" (1985)

Streaming on Amazon, "Clue" might be the pick for those who have filled their quarantine hours dusting off board games with friends and family. Like "The Addams Family," it stars Christopher Lloyd — the king of Halloween! — alongside others such as Tim Curry, Eileen Brennan and Madeline Kahn.

SEE HALLOWEEN ON C3

Losing loved ones to QAnon

QANON FROM C1

la term for a loose set of conspiracy theories ranging from the false claim that vaccines cause illness and are a method of controlling the masses to the bogus assertion that many pop stars and Democratic leaders are pedophiles. The choose-your-own-adventure nature of QAnon makes it compelling to vulnerable people desperate for a sense of security and difficult for Twitter and Facebook to control, despite their efforts. It's becoming increasingly mainstreamed as several QAnon-friendly candidates won congressional primaries. And the FBI has warned that it could "very likely motivate some domestic extremists to commit criminal, sometimes violent activity."

As QAnon has crept into the news, it's become a testament to our age of political disinformation, not to mention easy online comedic currency. But what's often forgotten in stories and jokes are the people behind the scenes who are baffled at a loved one's embrace of the "movement," and who struggle to keep it from tearing their families apart.

According to Jacob's recollection, his mother spent her days browsing these various theories on YouTube and Twitter. "I told her, 'I came here to visit you,'" he recalled. But she refused to stay offline.

"I finally got her to turn [her phone] off once, and it was unreal. She treated it like a chore," he said. "It's like she's addicted. It feels like she's been swallowed up by a cult."

"Finally, I realized that my relationship with her had brought me nothing but stress and unhappiness for, at that point, really years," he said. "That smart, awesome person that I used to know just didn't exist anymore. So I decided to cut my losses and cauterize the wound."

Jacob hasn't spoken to her since February, but she continues posting conspiracy theories multiple times a day to Facebook. She declined a request for comment, and to protect her privacy, The Post is using only Jacob's first name.

"It's devastating," he said. "It really, really does feel like my mother abandoned me. She implicitly chose QAnon . . . over me."

Jacob is one of many who have turned to makeshift online support groups, the most prominent of which is the subreddit /qanon-casualties. "Do you have a loved one who's been taken in by the QAnon conspiracy theory? Look here for emotional support and a place to vent," reads the group's description.

It had fewer than 3,500 members at the beginning of June, the earliest iteration captured by the online archival website the Way Back Machine. It now has more than 29,000. "I have been completely isolated from other friends and family members because of this cult," one user posted recently. "You guys have definitely been a lifeline, reminding me that sanity does still exist in this world. Thank you guys, very much."

The loneliness of losing loved ones to QAnon is something Kerry, of Oklahoma City, knows well. "QAnon" meant nothing to him, he recalled, when he found a stockpile of water and food in his house, which his then-wife told him was "because she believed



STEPHANIE KEITH/GETTY IMAGES

Trump was going to be declaring martial law any day in order to effectuate a mass arrest of Democrats," something known to QAnon believers as "the storm." (His ex-wife declined to comment, and to protect her privacy, The Post is only using Kerry's first name.)

Kerry dug deeper, trying to understand his wife's beliefs. They would debate. Eventually they started avoiding it "to keep peace in the house," but she eventually grew more assertive and "what was once a taboo topic became something we were arguing about all the time."

Still, he empathized. "She was getting frustrated that nobody in her immediate family was buying in and supporting her," Kerry said. "She felt like she was alone in this crusade. . . . And I know this was extremely frustrating and hurtful for her."

He and their then-18-year-old son held an intervention. It failed. "We were together a very long time. We managed to get past a lot of things I've seen end other marriages," he said. "But this was the thing we couldn't get past."

Their 20-year marriage ended.

His is one of a flood of stories. There's the South Carolina doctor whose mother blocked him on Facebook and no longer trusts his medical knowledge. The Florida woman who thought her mother — a physician in Canada who refuses to wear masks when not seeing a patient and tried to persuade her daughter not to vaccinate her grandchild — was senile when she began hawking QAnon theories. The woman whose unemployed aunt is quarantining alone and suddenly began diving into QAnon because it "gives her life meaning."

"I love my mother, but she sucks the life out of me with her conspiracy theories," said one Florida woman via email. (Many interviewees spoke on the condition of anonymity, which they requested for a variety of reasons, including fear of violence from QAnon followers, pending legal action and the worry that speaking would hinder their attempts to repair relationships.)



LOGAN CYRUS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

TOP: A man wears a QAnon sweatshirt to a Staten Island rally to support President Trump while he was sick with covid-19.

ABOVE: A car with stickers representing the conspiracy-theory group is parked outside a similar rally in Monroe, N.C. "WWGIWGA" stands for the QAnon slogan "Where We Go One We Go All."

This is not strictly a U.S. phenomenon. Users from Australia, Canada, England, Ireland, New Zealand and the Netherlands all shared similar stories.

One recurring theme is how often people who fall into QAnon aren't digital natives. A 30-year-old Sacramento resident said his stepmother of 20 years "has always been not really an Internet person," until the 2016 election. She soon stumbled upon radical aspects of online politics on outlets such as 4chan, "going from a zero to a 10." Soon enough, she was seeking "Q drops" (supposedly when Q reveals new "information"), telling others how "there are children in bunkers under Central Park who are being trafficked" and telling her stepson he was "brainwashed because you went to college."

When this person spoke to The Post last month, his mother hadn't left the house in 16 weeks because she refused to wear a mask after watching the viral "Plandemic" conspiracy video, which made the false claim that billionaires aided in the spread of the coronavirus to further the usage of vaccines and made the baseless and dangerous

assertion that wearing masks is harmful.

"This same person who told me not to believe strangers online, her entire worldview is informed by strangers online," he said.

Joan Donovan, the research director at Harvard's Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy, said often people's point of entry into a conspiracy narrative is the fear of something specific, such as illness or violent crime. Maybe they seek out answers on the Internet, only to find conspiratorial ones.

"If you have someone in your family in this mode of inquisitiveness, who is trying to figure something out, then rather than coming at them judgmentally or accusingly, there is a window of opportunity to reorient their thinking to understand why they perceive something in a certain way," Donovan said.

That window might eventually close, though, as they find community among other online conspiracy theorists, many of whom create massive amounts of text, memes, videos — you name it — to sift through. "It's not necessary that you convince your friends or fam-

ily to join, because you have a whole separate set of friends. . . . It's the kind of community where you could be lost in it for hours and hours a day and still not see everything," Donovan said.

When someone goes too far down the rabbit hole, it's unlikely that anyone will convince them otherwise. "My main advice is not to get into a debate about, say, how many politicians are secret Satanists," Donovan said. Instead, she suggests trying to help someone "see how much of their life they're missing out on and how much it's impacting your relationship. . . . And if they can't have a conversation about someone else, a conversation that's mutually beneficial and interesting, then there's a different kind of problem going on."

"The one-on-one approach of trying to understand where someone is coming from and where their fears are. . . works," Donovan said. If someone is "willing to take on the burden of trying to get one of their family members to change their mind, I hope they approach them with passion and concern."

The situation can become increasingly difficult when a child is involved. A Florida firefighter said his ex-wife fell hard for every QAnon theory in the book, from a complicated plot connecting UFOs and the Illuminati to the (false) idea that prominent celebrities, entrepreneurs and politicians are lizard people disguised in human skin. Her obsession with conspiracy theories helped lead to their divorce.

"Her intentions are to do good, but it's just not real," he said. "It's like living in a fantasy world. It's a need to believe in something."

Her beliefs wouldn't matter to him much at this point if they weren't co-parenting a son. He found out that his ex-wife told the son to avoid banks because the Federal Reserve would put microchips in him.

His father said that he and his ex "do a pretty good job of trying to raise him," but added, "I couldn't imagine trying to raise a child to be a functional adult while living so far outside reality."

travis.andrews@washpost.com

'Get over it already' isn't a stage of grief



Carolyn Hax

Adapted from an online discussion.

Dear Carolyn: How do you respond when a very dear and close friend says she thinks you should be "over"

your grief at the loss of your brother, who died 11 months ago and for whom you are still deeply grieving (and crying daily)?

— *Grieving*

Grieving: Ugh, I'm sorry. That was a really thoughtless thing for her to say. Grief is not linear, and you don't get "over" a loved one's permanent absence from your life. You only adjust to it, react less (or differently) to it, learn to live around it, at your own pace.

I hope for your friend's sake that it is merely her ignorance talking, which would suggest (a) she thinks she's being helpful and (b) she's had the good fortune of not having suffered as

severe a loss.

If that's the case, then you can explain to her — kindly, calmly, when you feel ready — that correcting someone in mourning is not helpful. To the best of your ability, explain why.

It could also be that your friend sees your struggle, suspects you're "stuck" and thinks you might benefit from grief support or therapy — and just didn't have the language handy to say that. That would make it a thoughtful concern unhelpfully phrased. Even though grief does have its own timetable and there's no "should" to it, it does happen sometimes that people aren't able to progress in their healing without a little help.

From readers:

• Eleven months?! That's nothing in terms of the grief timetable, in my opinion. Has Grieving considered explaining to her friend there is no closure or "getting over" a death? Some

people really do not know this. That even though things do get better over time, you carry that sadness with you always, just compartmentalized so life can go on. And sometimes all it takes is something small to transport you back to that grief temporarily.

If someone doesn't have experience with death, then they often don't know. I learned this after losing a sibling a decade ago. And my condolences.

• I hit an aha moment a day after the anniversary of my brother's death. I used to believe my grief would be like a switch and one day it would flip and I would be okay again, and my therapist made a point that maybe my friends view grief like this, too. Maybe they see me struggling and believe we'll stumble on something that will flip the grief switch off. Obviously, grief doesn't work like that. She and I came up with a strategy to say, "I really miss my brother today, and I need you to



NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

be okay with me not being okay today." It has helped me give them the message that I need to be sad and I don't want someone trying to make it better. Sorry for your loss.

• My sister died six years ago — I still get teary whenever I think about her. I do hope that

one day I'll be able to just talk about her without getting teary (as I am now, just typing this), but I don't feel like I need to move any more or less quickly.

Me again. Thank you to all of you who have carried this awful burden, for stepping forward to

help Grieving carry theirs.

Write to Carolyn Hax at tellme@washpost.com. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at wapo.st/haxpost.

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at live.washingtonpost.com

TELEVISION

TV HIGHLIGHTS



JOSS BARRATT/GLASS HOUSES GENIAL PRODUCTIONS FOR ITV

The Trouble With Maggie Cole (PBS at 8 Sunday) Idle gossip gets out of control in a picturesque fishing village, in the series centered on Maggie Cole (Dawn French, pictured), the oracle of this close-knit community.

MOVIES

David Byrne’s American Utopia (HBO at 8) The Talking Heads frontman’s critically acclaimed Broadway show is filmed for HBO by director Spike Lee.

SPECIALS

The Story of the Royals (Reelz at 8) Explore pivotal moments in the crown’s history.

SUNDAY LISTINGS

Fox News Sunday (Fox at 9 a.m.) Trump campaign adviser Jason Miller, former South Bend, Ind., mayor Pete Buttigieg.

White House Chronicle (WETA at 9 a.m.) A discussion of the impact of literature on politics and culture with Philip Gould and Timothy Bewes, both Brown University professors of English.

Sunday Morning Futures With Maria Bartiromo (Fox News at 10 a.m.) Sen. Ron Johnson (R-Wis.), Rep. Devin Nunes (R-Calif.), Sen. Kelly Loeffler (R-Ga.).

This Is America & the World (WETA at 10 a.m.) Psychiatrist Jay Shore on Zoom therapy, depression and suicide.

Pandora (CW at 8) Jax and the team visit the distant planet where

Professor Osborn first discovered Jax as an infant.

The Good Lord Bird (Showtime at 9) John Brown and Onion travel north, taking refuge at the home of Frederick Douglass and his two wives.

Fargo (FX at 10) Loy finds himself against the ropes and Deafy shakes the tree.

PREMIERES

Supermarket Sweep (ABC at 8) Leslie Jones hosts a revival of the classic game show that aired in the 1960s and again in the 1990s.

Halloween Freakshow Cakes (Food at 10:30) Three cake artists will trying to make the creepiest cake in a contest to win \$10,000.

MINISERIES

Seduced: Inside the NXIVM Cult (Starz at 9) A focus on NXIVM survivor India Oxenberg, the daughter of “Dynasty” actress Catherine Oxenberg, plus interviews with other women who try make sense of how they would all end up in the cult.

— Nina Zafar

More at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv)

BROADCAST CHANNELS										
10/17/20	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30
4.1 WRC (NBC)	Rivera	1st Look	♦ Weakest Link		♦ Ellen’s Game of Games		♦ Saturday Night Live		News	♦ SNL
4.2 WRC (IND)	Emergency!		Columbo							
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	♦ Bowling		♦ The Masked Singer		(9:01) ♦ I Can See Your Voice		Fox 5 News at 10		News	♦ Labor of
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	♦ Football	♦ College Football: North Carolina at Florida State (Live)								
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	♦ Football	♦ Football	♦ College Football: Georgia at Alabama (Live)						News	Ravens
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	♦ Familia Diez	♦ Familia	♦ Nosotros los.	♦ Nosotros los.	Fútbol		Fútbol Mexicano Primera División			
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	Fox 5 News On the Plus		♦ Family Feud	♦ Family Feud	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Creek	Creek
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	Black America Since MLK		(8:04) Black America Since MLK: And Still I Rise						Classic Albums	
26.1 WETA (PBS)	Secrets of the Dead		The Vietnam War		Angle of Attack		Angle of Attack			WETA Arts
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	♦ Weekend	Veterans in	Latino Vote: Dispatches		Hispanic Heritage		POV			Men Caring
50.1 WDCW (CW)	Wash Huddle	Hok All	NewsNation Preview		Friends	Friends	Two Men	Two Men	♦ The World’s	♦ The World’s
66.1 WPXW (ION)	Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU	

CABLE CHANNELS										
A&E	The First 48		The First 48		Live Rescue				The First 48	
AMC	Halloween H20		Movie: Halloween	★★★★ (1978)			History of Horror		Cursed	Halloween 4
Animal Planet	Dr. Jeff: RMV		Dr. Jeff: RMV		Dr. Jeff: RMV		(10:01) Mega Zoo		Secret Life-Zoo	
BET	Movie: A Madea Christmas	★ (2013)			Movie: Madea’s Family Reunion	★★ (2006)				
Bravo	Tokyo Drift	(7:41) Movie: Fast & Furious	★★ (2009)				(9:46) Movie: Fast & Furious	★★ (2009)		
Cartoon Network	Gumball	Gumball	Apple	Apple	Burgers	Amer. Dad	Amer. Dad	Primal	Family Guy	Family Guy
CNN	Situation Room		Situation Room		CNN Special Report		CNN Special Report			
Comedy Central	(6:00) Movie: Bruce Almighty		Movie: Dumb & Dumber	★★★★ (1994)			Movie: Joe Dirt	★ (2001)		
Discovery	Homestead Rescue		Homestead Rescue: Surviving the Wild			Building Off the Grid		Building Off the Grid		
Disney	(6:25) Movie: Trolls	★★★	Big City	Amphibia	Mickey	Toy-Terror!	Amphibia	Amphibia	Movie: Twitches	★★★
E!	Movie: The Devil Wears Prada	★★★★ (2006)			Movie: The Devil Wears Prada	★★★★ (2006)				
ESPN	Scores	Boxing: Lomachenko vs. Lopez- Undercards (Live)			Boxing: Lomachenko vs. Lopez (Live)					
ESPN2	Scores	College Football: Southern Mississippi at Texas-El Paso (Live)			SportsCenter (Live)					
Food Network	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Outrageous Pumpkins		Outrageous Pumpkins		Outrageous Pumpkins		Outrageous Pumpkins	
Fox News	Fox Report		Watters’ World		Justice With Jeanine		The Greg Gutfeld Show		Watters’ World	
Freeform	Beetlejuice	(7:45) Movie: Hocus Pocus	★★ (1993)				(9:55) Movie: Halloweentown	★★ (1998)		
FX	(6:00) Movie: Skyscraper		Movie: Venom	★★ (2018)			Fargo			
Hallmark	Movie: Bottled With Love (2019)				Movie: Sweet Autumn (2020)				Christmas	
Hallmark M&M	Monk		Monk		Monk		Monk		Murder, She Wrote	
HBO	(5:20) Movie: Ford v Ferrari		Movie: David Byrne’s American Utopia (2020)			(9:46) Movie: The Invisible Man	★★★ (2020)			
HGTV	Property Brothers		Help-Wrecked		(9:01) Hidden Potential		(10:01) Hidden Potential		Help! I Wrecked My House	
History	The Men Who Built America		The Men Who Built America				(10:04) The Men Who Built America			
Lifetime	Cheerleader Abduction		Movie: The Wrong Cheerleader Coach (2020)			(10:03) Movie: The Wrong Cheerleader (2019)				
MASN	McGee’s Pro Football Plus		Touchdown Baltimore		Fight Sports Presents: MMA		ESPNEWS (Live)		Ballgame	Orioles Cla.
MSNBC	American Voices		Week-Joshua Johnson		Week-Joshua Johnson		Voices-Alicia Menendez		Week-Joshua Johnson	
MTV	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.
Nat’l Geographic	Drugs, Inc.		Drugs, Inc.: The Fix		Drugs, Inc.: The Fix		Drugs, Inc.: The Fix		Drugs, Inc.: The Fix	
NBC SportsNet WA	Trackside Live! (Live)		Rivera		Football	Football	Football	Ravens	Football	Rivera
Nickelodeon	(6:00) Movie: Despicable Me		Unfiltered		SpongeBob	SpongeBob	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends
PARMT	Movie: Independence Day	★★★★ (1996)					Movie: The Dark Knight	★★★★ (2008)		
Syfy	(6:55) Movie: Tyler Perry’s Boo 2! A Madea Halloween	★			Movie: Tales From the Hood 3 (2020)				Futurama	Futurama
TBS	(6:00) Movie: Avengers: Infinity War	★★★★ (2018)			Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Misery Index	Misery Index
TCM	(5:45) Movie: Rollerball		Movie: Singin’ in the Rain	★★★★ (1952)			Movie: Summer Stock	★★★ (1950)		
TLC	Darcey & Stacey		Darcey & Stacey				Darcey & Stacey		Darcey & Stacey	
TNT	(6:00) Life of the Party	★★	Movie: Ocean’s 8	★★ (2018)			Movie: The Island	★★ (2005)		
Travel	Ghost Nation		Ghost Nation		Ghost Nation		Ghost Nation			
TruTV	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Top Funniest	Top Funniest	Top Funniest		Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes
TV Land	Two Men	Two Men	Two Men	(8:45) Two and a Half Men	Two Men	Two Men	Two Men	Two Men	Two Men	Two Men
TV One	Good Times	Good Times	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford
USA Network	(6:10) Movie: Fifty Shades Freed	★ (2018)	Movie: The Proposal	★★ (2009)					Movie: Fifty Shades Freed	
VH1	(6:30) Movie: Tyler Perry’s I Can Do Bad All By Myself				Movie: Diary of a Mad Black Woman	★★ (2005)			Madea’s	
WNCN	Paid Program	Govt. Matters	(8:01) 20/20				News	WJLA News	WJLA News	Town Hall
WGN	Blue Bloods		NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation	

LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs ♦ High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Sheryl Bartol

ACROSS

1 They clean up

9 Menu category including shells

14 Park, for one

15 Monopoly player?

16 Sign in many restaurant windows

17 Emblem on a dollar bill

18 For or against

19 Parisian street food

21 CPR group

22 “ _ Story”

23 Reasons for sighs

25 Female rabbit

26 Like “Home Alone”

28 City NNW of Park City

31 Many glasses are sold as one

33 Queen dowager of Jordan

34 Browning but not cooking

35 Have the ability to

36 Ripped

37 Barbecue tool feature

38 Fireside sight

39 Like some tricks

40 Showed scorn

42 “Erie Canal” mule

43 App update messages, say

46 Award show VIPs

49 Egg dropper

50 Plane, for one

51 “What can I help you with?” speaker

52 Clear out

54 It often includes a colon

56 Amtrak speedsters

57 Retreat from, as a previous statement

58 Gives up

59 Clomps (through), as a puddle

DOWN

1 Renaissance faire contest

2 Challenging HS science class

3 Clingy, say

4 Memo intro

5 Menlo Park, N.J., notable

6 Pythia of the Temple of Apollo, for one

7 Vintage

8 MS enclosures

9 Volkswagen sedan

10 MGM motto word

11 Safe room barrier

12 Baseball or soccer

13 Start of a Shakespeare title

15 Its lines have lines

20 Hazards

23 Sting

24 Ingredient in the Indian dish dal

25 Discourages

27 Like a cloudy London day

28 Goes (for)

29 Gentle parting sentiment

30 Criticized publicly

31 Charley, in Steinbeck’s “Travels With Charley”

32 National Mus-tard Day mo.

35 Adheres ... or separates

39 “ _ Kapital”

41 Angle symbols

42 Boardwalk activity

44 Online show offering Hollywood info

45 Update after a new survey, maybe

46 Biblical prophet

47 “Time in a Bottle” singer

48 Some islands have them

49 Temperature control syst.

51 They’re often rivals

53 Ginger _

55 Ring decision, briefly

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10/17/20

FRIDAY’S LA TIMES SOLUTION

A	M	F	M		S	T	A	R	R		S	T	E	P	S		
T	Y	R	E		C	O	C	O	A		W	R	E	A	K		
A	G	E	E		A	L	A	M	P		A	I	O	L	I		
L	O	S	T		I	N	D	I	A	P	E	R	S				
O	S	C	A	R				N	E	R	D	C	H	I	C		
W	H	A	T	A	R	E	F	I	L	E		U	O	M	O		
					T	O	R	I			D	I	P	P	Y		
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C	L	E	A	R				L	A	I	N						
P	E	A	S			U	N	D	Y	I	N	G	V	O	L	E	
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ANDREW COOPER/WALT DISNEY COMPANY/MPTV IMAGES

From left, Kathy Najimy, Bette Midler and Sarah Jessica Parker in 1993’s “Hocus Pocus.”

12 movies without toil and trouble

HALLOWEEN FROM CI

“Halloweentown” (1998)

Streaming on Disney Plus, “Halloweentown” is the preeminent Disney Channel Original Movie dealing with all things spooky. Sure, the channel also put out “Twitches” and “Phantom of the Megaplex,” but for millennials of a certain age, Marnie Piper (as played by Kimberly J. Brown) will always be the chosen one.

“Hocus Pocus” (1993)

Streaming on Disney Plus, “Hocus Pocus” was panned by critics as an “unholy mess” and “about as much fun as celebrating Mardi Gras under the influence of candy corn.” And yet it remains a beloved film to this day, perhaps thanks to the very idea of Bette Midler, Sarah Jessica Parker and Kathy Najimy playing a coven.

“Hubie Halloween” (2020)

Streaming on Netflix, “Hubie Halloween” is *not* the extremely bad movie Adam Sandler promised to make after the Oscars snubbed him for “Uncut Gems.” Instead, it is a surprisingly warm movie featuring Sandler as a man named Hubert Dubois — Benoit Blanc is shaking! — who is simply too nice for the mean townspeople. It also stars Ray Liotta in one of his best roles since “Bee Movie” and those Chantix commercials.

“James and the Giant Peach” (1996)

Streaming on Disney Plus, “James and the Giant Peach” is a Roald Dahl adaptation produced by Tim Burton, meaning that it’s more off-kilter than one might expect of an animated Disney film. All the better, no? This is, after all, a movie that begins by establishing that the protagonist’s parents were eaten by a rhino.

“Kiki’s Delivery Service” (1989)

“Kiki’s Delivery Service” is one of many Studio Ghibli films available on HBO Max, the WarnerMedia service that launched this year. It focuses on a teenage witch who moves to a beautiful coastal town to hone her powers and features her very adorable talking cat, Jiji.

“Little Shop of Horrors” (1986)

Streaming on HBO Max, “Little Shop of Horrors” is about a nerdy flower shop worker whose Venus flytrap not only speaks but subsists on human blood. It stars Rick Moranis, most recently in the news for being randomly attacked in New York. (Thankfully, he’s fine.) What is life if not a big shop of horrors?

“The Nightmare Before Christmas” (1993)

Streaming on Disney Plus, “The Nightmare Before Christmas” follows Jack Skellington, the king of Halloween Town who travels through a portal to the Christmas

equivalent. We’re attaching the Burton disclaimer to this one, as well, as it is not “cute” in the traditional sense and actually bears some similarities to “Batman Returns,” Burton’s bizarre film (streaming on HBO Max) that also takes place during the holidays.

“The Rocky Horror Picture Show” (1975)

Streaming on Hulu, “Rocky Horror” is the kind of fun, outrageous experience we would normally recommend you see at a midnight showing but, alas, we do not live in normal times. Home will have to do!

“Scooby-Doo” (2002)

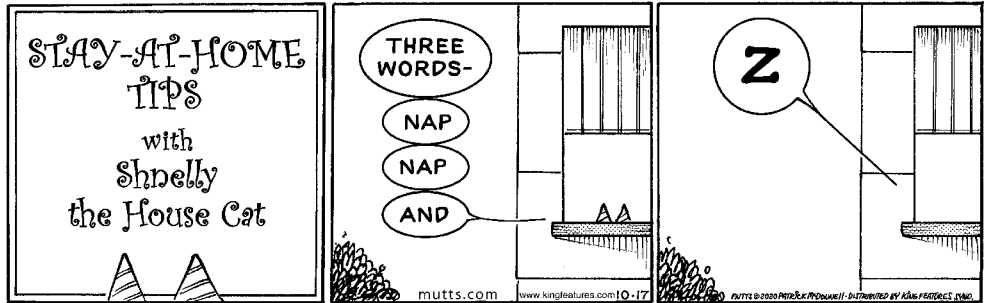
Streaming on HBO Max, the live-action “Scooby-Doo” summons the gang to a place called Spooky Island, where they have to investigate a bunch of paranormal mysteries. Ruh-roh. This is just one of many Scooby gang movies available on the platform, including the pandemic release “Scoob!”

“What We Do in the Shadows” (2014)

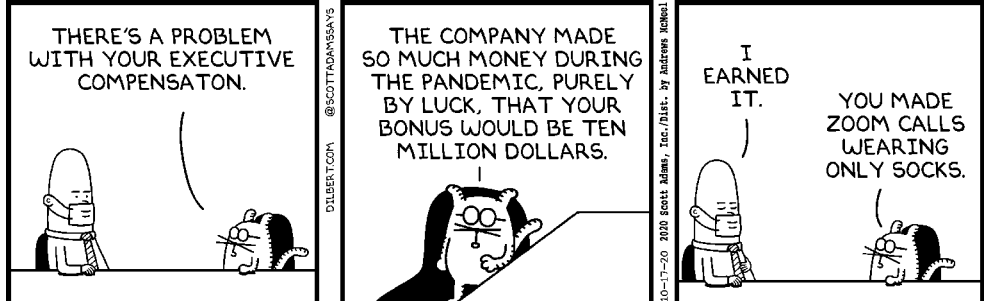
Streaming on Hulu Live TV and Kanopy, “What We Do in the Shadows” is a mockumentary written and directed by Jemaine Clement and Taika Waititi, who play vampires struggling with modern-day life. The cult film was adapted into an FX series last year, so the silliness doesn’t have to stop at the 90-minute mark.

sonia.rao@washpost.com

MUTTS



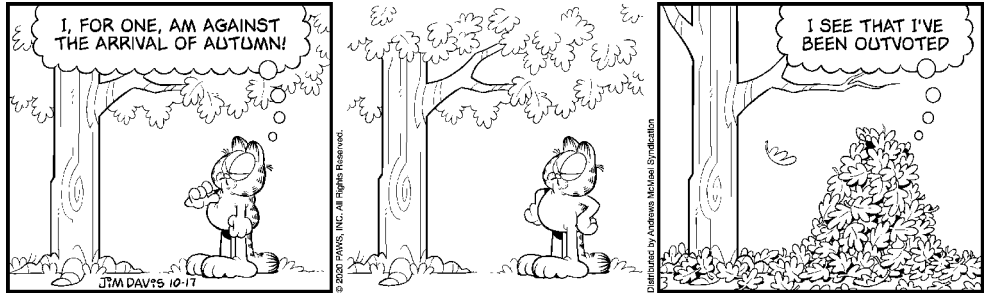
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GARFIELD



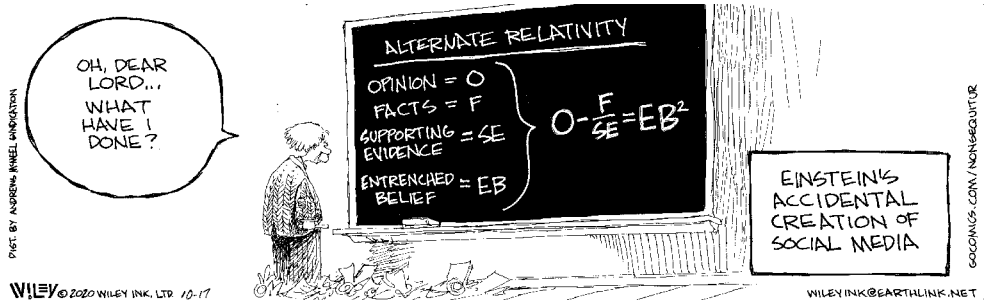
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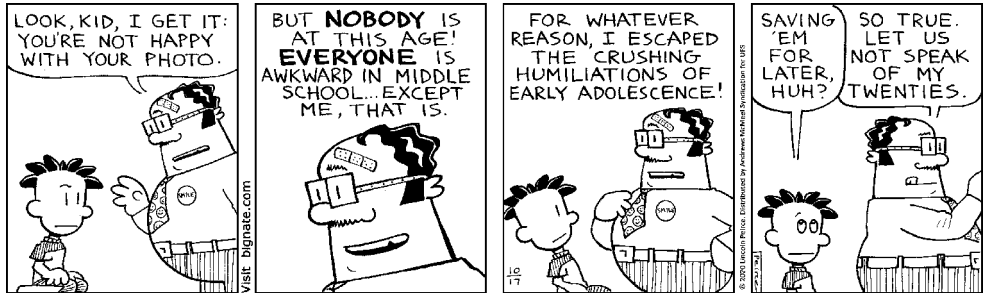
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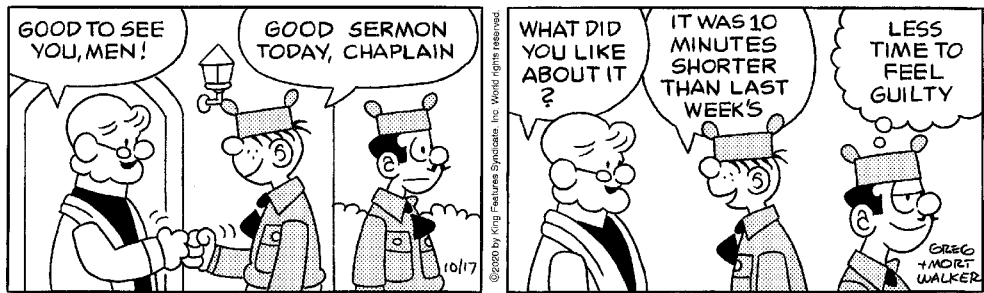
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BIG NATE



BEETLE BAILEY



PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

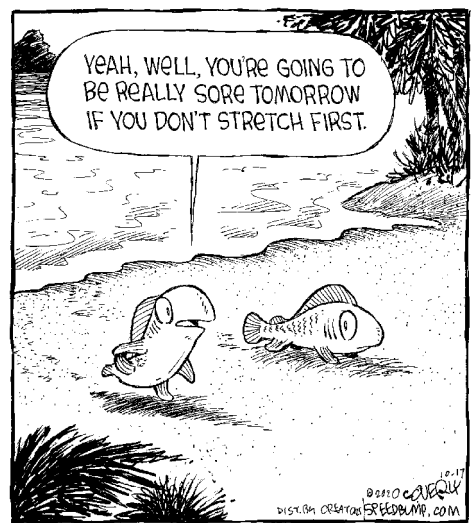
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PAR SCORE 155-165 TOTAL 261

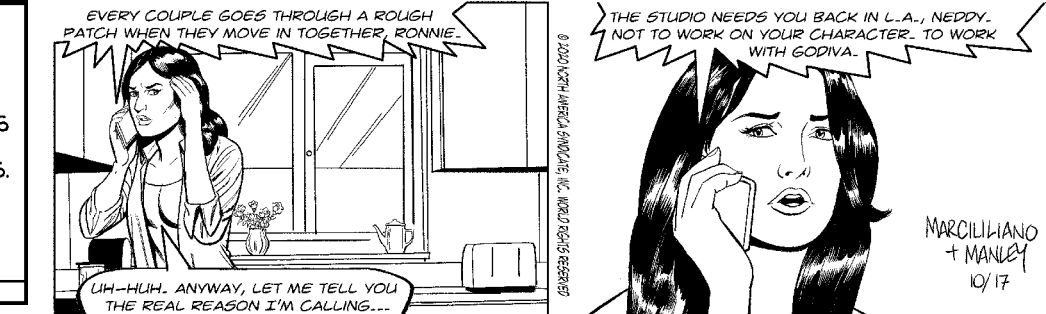
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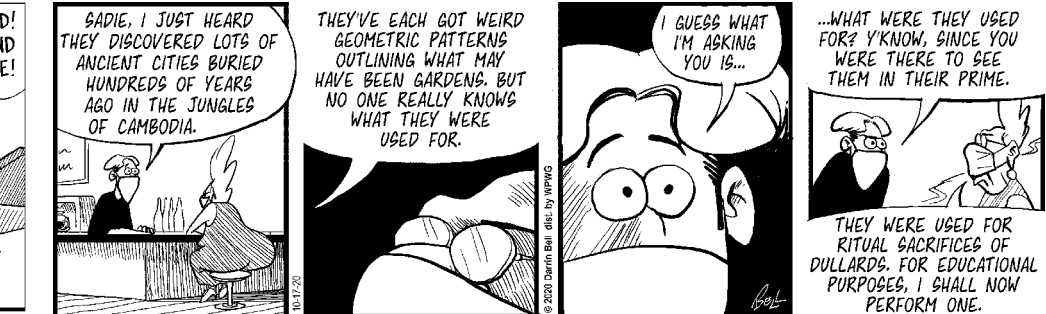
ZITS



JUDGE PARKER



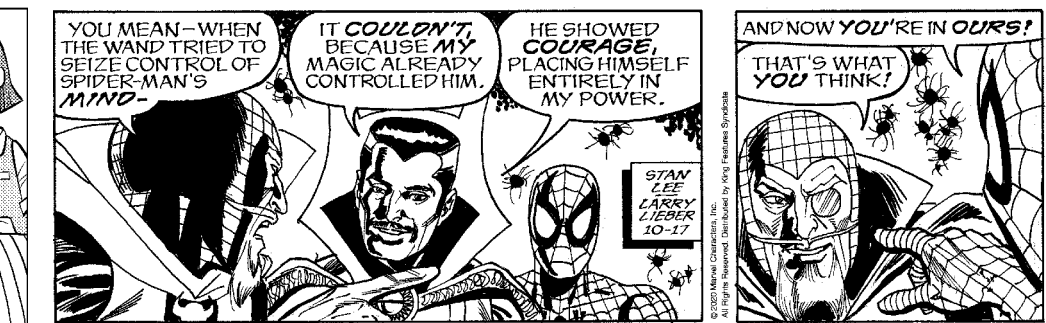
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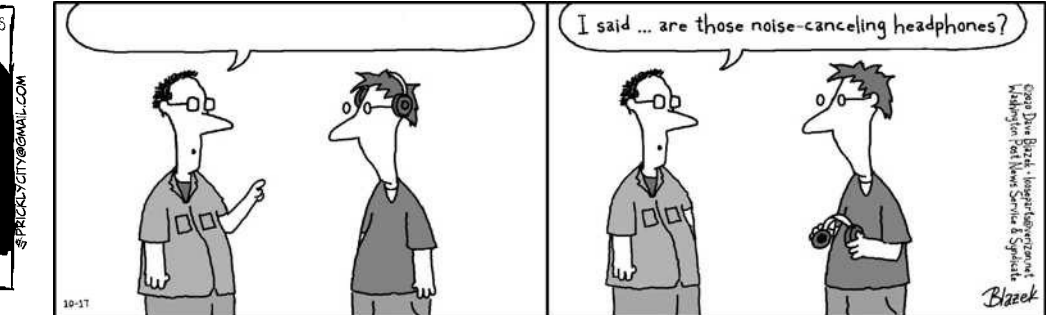
BARNEY AND CLYDE



THE AMAZING SPIDER-MAN



LOOSE PARTS



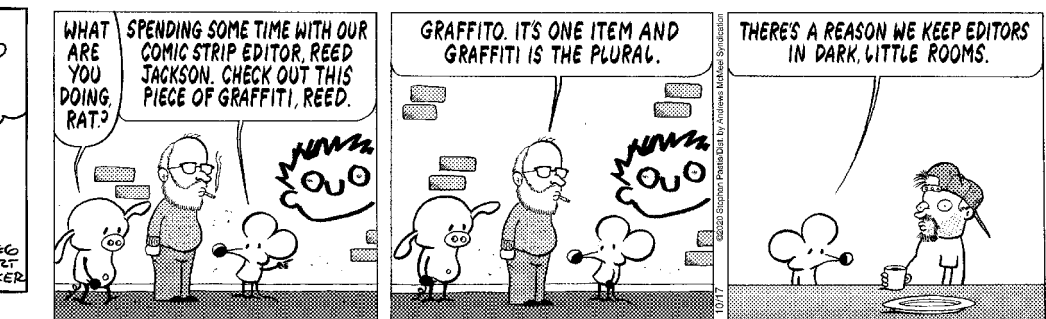
BABY BLUES



ON THE FASTTRACK



PEARLS BEFORE SWINE



HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | OCTOBER 17

Libra Daring, resilient and drama-loving, you must maintain balance to have the successful life you deserve. This year, working with others is your path to success, and you'll feel very proud of the end product. If single, you often gamble on love, and this year you take a chance and commit. If attached, you and your partner are both power players, often working together. Your bond is tight. Cancer stabilizes you.

Aries (MARCH 21-APRIL 19). Today can bring an important new partnership. Keep perspective if love and emotional issues grow complex. There's a sense of fate in the air. Adapt to circumstances. Valuable insights come from close associates.

Taurus (APRIL 20-MAY 20). Today brings a sensitive and sentimental mood to love. Show appreciation for the creations and accomplishments of a loved one. Make a special effort to communicate clearly and listen carefully.

Gemini (MAY 21-JUNE 20). Be alert to routine safety concerns. Create a comfortable environment. Some time and energy are dedicated to the health needs of a loved one. When this occurs, remember to take rest and regroup.

Cancer (JUNE 21-JULY 22). Recreational activities that inspire thinking and learning will bring you happiness today. Perhaps you might join a book club to find a new friend. Encourage a potential love interest to talk. Listen.

Leo (JULY 23-AUG. 22). Today generates a feeling of freedom and well-being. Examine ways to make housing as comfy and hospitable as possible. Dreams and hunches about domestic matters should be heeded.

Virgo (AUG. 23-SEPT. 22). Keep a sense of humor as a neighbor is difficult or eccentric. Remember, the world would be dull if we were all the same. Transportation arrangements will have to be revamped. You will be on your way again soon.

Libra (SEPT. 23-OCT. 22). Check provisions and supplies. Restock shelves and larders. Use that bit of extra cash you've been hoarding to make a purchase that will give you pleasure. Offer thanks for all that you have.

Scorpio (OCT. 23-NOV. 21). To achieve happiness, Scorpios must first resolve extremes of emotion. Today brings a vision of your year to come, and a time of growth and opportunity commences. Select goals.

Sagittarius (NOV. 22-DEC. 21). Suddenly, discretion is more important than usual. You'll cherish your privacy. Quiet, good deeds generate positive karma. You'll be aware of the secret needs and worries of others. There are opportunities now to be helpful.

Capricorn (DEC. 22-JAN. 19). People from the past call or visit. You'll feel haunted by an old wish or goal that proved elusive. Be very realistic if you're tempted to give it another try. Practical guidelines provide the best route to success just now.

Aquarius (JAN. 20-FEB. 18). You'll be considered an authority and role model today. This is satisfying but also promises added responsibility. Your success will be affected by the amount of effort you expend. You will be honored and appreciated.

Pisces (FEB. 19-MARCH 20). Note current events. Gather books and other reference materials online. There is much to learn. Foreign language skills come easily today. Creative word usage will impart a special power to magical workings. You'll be amazed.

— Madalyn Aslan

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PRO FOOTBALL

The Patriots, Falcons and Colts dealt with positive coronavirus tests, with New England closing its facility. **D2**

BOXING

Three titles — and pound-for-pound bragging rights — are at stake tonight in the Lomachenko-Lopez bout. **D2**

ON BASEBALL

Michael A. Taylor is a free agent, and his legacy as a National includes more than a few clutch hits. **D6**



Ex-Washington cheerleader Chastity Evans: “I didn’t see it when I was younger. . . . I don’t think they viewed us as people. They viewed us as replaceable objects.”

Vulgar videos rattle ex-cheerleaders

BY BETH REINHARD, LIZ CLARKE, ALICE CRITES AND WILL HOBSON

The contracts for the Washington Football Team’s cheerleaders held them to a strict moral code. “Inappropriate” conduct or online content, including nude or seminude appearances in “tasteless” films, videos or photographs, could trigger immediate dismissal.

“Each cheerleader must at all times conduct herself with due regard to public conventions and morals,” read two contracts obtained by The Washington Post, covering 2008 and 2010.

Such provisions are not unusual in the NFL, according to lawyers familiar with such contracts, and ex-Washington cheerleaders said that, while they took

Former members of squad say Washington operated under a double standard

the policy seriously, it didn’t bother them — until recently.

In August, The Post reported that the team had produced lewd videos that include partial nudity out of outtakes from the cheerleaders’ 2008 and 2010 swimsuit calendar shoots. Now in their 30s and 40s, with careers and children, the dozens of ex-cheerleaders who appear in the videos are terrified the footage will appear online and are coping with a painful reckoning about their

seasons with the NFL franchise.

“I would have hoped the team, because they held us to these high standards, would treat us with respect and uphold the same standards. Instead they violated our trust with what sounds like a soft porn video,” said Chastity Evans, who appears in the unofficial 2008 video and, like other cheerleaders, was afraid of getting fired just for being photographed with a drink in hand or being in the same restaurant as a player.

A love of dance drew them to the cheerleading squad, and the bonds forged with teammates they still consider sisters kept them coming back. But the meager pay, demands that they socialize with male suite holders and sponsors, and other indignities — what they then

SEE CHEERLEADERS ON **D3**

For Bulldogs, it could be now or never

No. 3 Georgia has lost five in a row to No. 2 Alabama, which may be without Saban

BY CHUCK CULPEPPER

Having struck a sitting president of the United States, the novel coronavirus just went for someone even more important: a sitting Alabama football coach. So now that it has proved cunning enough to reach even a steeply organized man who never takes an unwise step, here comes a bale of questions that life never prepared citizens to mull.

Is it acceptable to wonder how this stunning development might affect Saturday night and the game of the year thus far, No. 3 Georgia’s visit to No. 2 Alabama? Is it wrong to say something this jarring will lend the game a layer of lore set to last all the way into next century, whenever SEC football fans discuss October 2020, whenever they discuss whether this ended up an Alabama burden or an Alabama cause? Is it okay to attempt to gauge how a sideline presence so intensely involved in 14 seasons of Alabama games might function from his home?

Is it tolerable to find any of this funny? Nick Saban did find something funny Wednesday evening when he took 10 minutes of questions from reporters via video. Feeling no symptoms and looking great at 68, his face a wave of health, he told of going straight home after his midday test result, thus missing practice.

SEE SABAN ON **D4**

Shorthanded secondary puts Hokies in a jam

BY GENE WANG

The No. 23 Virginia Tech football team is set to play a fourth consecutive game with a significantly depleted roster, particularly in the secondary, as unforeseen circumstances combined with the novel coronavirus pandemic have left Hokies Coach Justin Fuente and his staff scrambling to fill positions.

Over the first three games, Virginia Tech was without 23, 21 and 15 players, respectively. The Hokies also have had a handful of assistants unavailable, most notably first-year defensive coordinator Justin Hamilton, who missed the first two games.

Hamilton made his in-person debut last weekend and is expected to be with the Hokies (2-1, 2-1 ACC) when they play Boston College (3-1, 2-1 ACC) on Saturday night at Lane Stadium in yet another game in which only family of players and coaches are permitted to attend.

“We’re drawing up stuff on the sideline trying to get 11 people out there,” Fuente said, adding he even has contemplated inserting offensive players in the

SEE VIRGINIA TECH ON **D5**

COLLEGE FOOTBALL SATURDAY GAMES TO WATCH	
Nationally	Locally
1 Clemson at Georgia Tech Noon, ABC	Navy at East Carolina Noon, ESPN2
Louisville at 4 Notre Dame 2:30, NBC	Virginia at Wake Forest 4, ACC Network
3 Georgia at 2 Alabama 8, CBS	Boston College at 23 Va. Tech 8, ACC Network



The Rays’ Yandy Díaz shouts at Astros starter Framber Valdez after Valdez walked him and asked to appeal a checked swing.

Tension taken to limit

BY JESSE DOUGHERTY

SAN DIEGO — All October — all season, really — Tampa Bay Rays Manager Kevin Cash has had the magic touch. But when he needed it most Friday, when Game 6 of the American League Championship Series was very much in doubt, Cash’s latest chess move was like throwing a match in a puddle of gasoline.

That’s not to say it was Cash’s fault. It would be tough to predict Diego Castillo, his most trusted reliever, would allow two inherited runners to score, then two more, in the fifth inning of a 7-4 loss to the Houston Astros. No one prepares for Martín Maldonado sacrifice bunting, George Springer beating the shift with a single, José Altuve cracking a double, then Carlos

ASTROS 7, RAYS 4

Houston cracks Castillo and forces a Game 7

League championship series

Today’s games

National League

Game 6*: Dodgers vs. Braves, 4:30 p.m. (FS1)

Last night’s Game 5 ended late

American League

Game 7: Rays vs. Astros, 8:30 p.m. (TBS)

Series tied, 3-3

* If necessary

Correa singling, too, leaving Castillo to stew behind the mound. But that’s just how it went for the Rays at Petco Park.

They were outhit and outpitched, and their usual lifeline — a dominant bullpen — couldn’t carry them to the World Series. They will have one more chance to get there in Game 7 on Saturday. And if they don’t, the Astros will be the second team to overcome a 3-0 deficit in a best-of-seven series. It would be a complete collapse.

“If the roles were switched, it would be a different narrative,” Rays catcher Mike Zunino said. “So we have to keep that in mind that we’re still right in this thing.”

In the guts of Game 5, as it wound toward a walk-off finish, Astros Manager Dusty Baker had one wish: Please, he

SEE ALCS ON **D6**

Patriots close facility as multiple teams deal with positive coronavirus tests

BY MARK MASKE

The New England Patriots closed their facility and canceled practice Friday after a new positive test result for the novel coronavirus.

The renewed issues for the Patriots came as the games this weekend involving the Indianapolis Colts and Atlanta Falcons remained on course to be played as scheduled after both of those franchises dealt with issues related to the NFL's daily coronavirus testing of players, coaches and certain team staff members.

The Patriots worked remotely Friday after the result of the new positive test was returned, two people familiar with the situation confirmed. Those people said they were aware of only one positive test result Friday amid multiple reports that a second positive result was being retested for confirmation.

The Patriots are set to play the Denver Broncos in Foxborough, Mass., on Sunday in a rescheduled game. There was no immediate change to the status of that game. It was pushed back from last Sunday because of positive tests on the Patriots.

Quarterback Cam Newton and cornerback Stephon Gilmore participated in the Patriots' practice Thursday after being activated from the team's covid-19 reserve list. Newton missed a game after a positive test, confirmed by a person familiar with the result. Gilmore confirmed via social media his positive coronavirus test result two days after that Oct. 5 game at the Kansas City Chiefs.

The NFL postponed a number of games over the past two weekends because of an outbreak on the Tennessee Titans and positive test results for other teams, including the Patriots.

League officials are mulling adding an 18th week to the 17-week regular season. They said this week they would do that only if games cannot be rescheduled within the current framework of the regular season. That



STEVEN SENNE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Patriots are scheduled to host the Broncos on Sunday in a game that already was postponed once because of coronavirus concerns.

could apply to the already rescheduled Patriots-Broncos game if it cannot be played by early next week.

The Colts announced that four positive test results from Friday morning came back confirmed as negative after retesting. The team said it would reopen its training facility Friday afternoon after closing it in the morning. The Colts are scheduled to play the Cincinnati Bengals on Sunday in Indianapolis.

The Falcons reopened their facility after they had no new positive tests in results returned Friday, according to a person

familiar with the results. That keeps the Falcons on track to play their scheduled game Sunday against the Minnesota Vikings in Minneapolis. They had closed their facility Thursday after a positive test result.

The Colts and Falcons became the latest NFL teams to deal with facility shutdowns related to coronavirus testing results.

The status of the Colts-Bengals game was unclear for several hours Friday morning while the four positive tests were being retested, leading to the conclusion that the initial results were false positives.

“All is well,” Colts owner Jim Irsay wrote on Twitter late Friday morning.

The Colts said in a written statement: “After consultation with the NFL and Chief Medical Officer, Dr. Allen Sills, the team will open the practice facility this afternoon under the league’s intensive protocol and will continue preparation for Sunday’s game against Cincinnati.”

The Falcons said in a written statement Friday that they had “resumed in-person work” at their facility “under the NFL’s supplemental intensive protocols.” The Falcons worked re-

motely Thursday after a member of their coaching staff tested positive, according to a person familiar with the result. The NFL gave the team the option to reopen its facility Thursday afternoon, but the Falcons decided to work remotely all day, a person close to the situation said.

“Not all cases are the same when we do have a single positive. . . . Every one of these cases is different,” Sills said in a conference call with reporters Thursday afternoon. “We have to judge the merits of what’s going on based on the totality of the

For Lopez, added structure builds mental focus entering title unification bout

BY GENE WANG

When Teofimo Lopez stepped into the ring at MGM National Harbor last summer, the aura surrounding the Brooklyn-born lightweight was of a youthful and charismatic power puncher perhaps on the verge of global stardom.

His performance that evening fell well short by any measure, with Lopez winning via unanimous decision but failing to showcase the knockout artistry that had elevated his standing enough to be considered a contender for a major belt.

Lopez subsequently revealed he had been trying to manage tumult in his personal life throughout training camp, leaving him distracted and unable to reach the peak physical condition that had contributed to knockouts in each of his previous five bouts, none of which went beyond seven rounds.

“I was dealing with so much stuff during that time,” Lopez said in a telephone interview last week, declining to go into details. “From that point on, we just learned and we just figured out

more things. We ended up becoming more structured as a team. . . . Our biggest key in everything I needed was structure.”

Fifteen months later, Lopez (15-0, 12 knockouts) is back on his original trajectory as he approaches the most significant match of his career. He faces Vasily Lomachenko in a 135-pound unification main event Saturday night in the fan-free boxing bubble at the MGM Grand in Las Vegas.

At stake will be Lopez’s International Boxing Federation title as well as Lomachenko’s World Boxing Association and World Boxing Organization championship belts. Lomachenko also is the World Boxing Council “franchise” champion, a special designation that does not come with a belt.

Championship straps notwithstanding, a victory undoubtedly would boost Lopez’s profile considerably, given Lomachenko (14-1, 10 KOs) is ranked as the No. 1 pound-for-pound fighter in the world by ESPN and No. 2 by Ring magazine behind Canelo Alvarez.



FRANK FRANKLIN II/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Teofimo Lopez retooled his training regimen. On Saturday, he faces Vasily Lomachenko, one of the top pound-for-pound fighters.

Following a pre-fight blueprint since he turned professional four years ago, Lopez, 23, has unleashed a verbal assault on Lomachenko, 32, boldly predicting a knockout of the Ukrainian southpaw while calling the ESPN-televised bout personal.

Lopez has become somewhat of a viral sensation for his post-fight celebrations, which have included performing a dance from the wildly popular video game “Fortnite” and donning the jersey of a Heisman Trophy-winning quarterback, executing a

backflip and striking the Heisman pose.

In Lopez’s most recent fight, when he scored a second-round knockout of Richard Commey to win the IBF title Dec. 14 at Madison Square Garden, he draped himself in a Joe Burrow jersey only hours after the LSU quarterback won the Heisman at the Downtown Athletic Club in Manhattan.

A straight right crumpled Commey to the canvas in the second round, and referee David Fields stopped the proceedings at 1:13 after Lopez repeatedly landed blows moments later against a defenseless opponent who had staggered into the ropes.

“There’s no such thing as overly confident,” Lopez said. “Honestly, you are what you say you are. If you believe you’re the best, you’ve got to show it out there and do it every time, and that’s what I’m willing to do and going to do each and every time.”

The thorough dismantling of Commey served as Lopez’s first bout after that inglorious night in Oxon Hill, where he unexpectedly went the distance against underhanded challenger Masayoshi Na-

information we have. . . . What we’re really trying to determine is: What do we think is the risk of ongoing transmission?”

The Falcons placed rookie defensive tackle Marlon Davidson on their covid-19 reserve list Tuesday after he reportedly tested positive. The team practiced Wednesday.

The Carolina Panthers, who played the Falcons on Sunday, announced Wednesday they were operating under enhanced coronavirus protocols. The NFL developed those protocols for those teams with positive cases and those exposed to the virus. Sills said Thursday that about 10 teams had been subjected to the enhanced protocols. He also said the league has seen no evidence of on-field transmission of the virus.

The Cleveland Browns, who faced the Colts on Sunday, had their facility open Friday after receiving no positive test results. Browns wide receiver Odell Beckham Jr. had been sent home Thursday with an illness, but he reportedly tested negative in Friday’s results.

Sills said Thursday that, with cold and flu season at hand, he expects more players and coaches leaguewide to be withheld from practices and games for displaying symptoms even if they test negative for the coronavirus.

The league and teams will proceed cautiously in such instances, Sills said, to make certain through further testing and evaluation that it’s not a coronavirus case. For that reason, Beckham was to remain out of the Browns’ facility Friday.

The Titans beat the Buffalo Bills on Tuesday night in a rescheduled game, their first game since Sept. 27 and the NFL’s first Tuesday game in 10 years. The Titans have had 24 members of the organization, including 13 players, test positive for the coronavirus since Sept. 24. Their facility was closed for 11 days.

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COLLEGES Florida-Missouri is postponed next week

The SEC postponed next week’s game between Missouri and No. 10 Florida on Friday, the third league contest moved this week because of novel coronavirus outbreaks.

The Gators had at least 21 players and coaches test positive and dozens more quarantined because of contact tracing. That left them with fewer than the conference-mandated 53 scholarship players available Saturday against LSU.

Because of the SEC’s safety protocols, Florida probably would not have gotten everyone back in time to practice and prepare for Missouri. So the Gators will get consecutive weeks off before they host Missouri on Oct. 31. That had initially been an off week for Florida.

Missouri had been scheduled to host Kentucky that day, but they will now play Oct. 24. Kentucky was scheduled to play at Georgia that day, but that game moves to Halloween.

Florida and LSU are tentatively scheduled to play Dec. 12. Missouri and Vanderbilt

are slated for the same day after their game this week got postponed because of an outbreak within Vanderbilt’s program. . . .

Kansas football coach **Les Miles** was cleared to return to the Jayhawks after his positive test for the coronavirus but out of caution is skipping the team’s trip to West Virginia on Saturday. . . .

Brandon Crossley ended the first overtime possession with an interception and **Chris Naggar** made a 34-yard field goal to give No. 17 SMU (5-0, 3-0 American Athletic) a 37-34 victory over Tulane (2-3, 0-3) in New Orleans. Mustangs quarterback **Shane Buechele**, who entered the game ranked second nationally in passing yards, completed 23 of 37 passes for 384 yards and two touchdowns. . . .

Defensive end **Samdup Miller**, safety **Travis Whillock**, quarterback **Aidan Smith** and tight end **Jason Whittaker** opted out of Northwestern’s pandemic-shortened season, the school announced. . . .

Kansas forward **Silvio de Sousa** is opting out of the upcoming basketball season.

Coach **Bill Self** said in a statement that de Sousa was opting out to “focus on matters in his personal life.”

TELEVISION AND RADIO

COLLEGE FOOTBALL, SEE PAGE D4
MLB PLAYOFFS

4:30 p.m. **NLCS, Game 6: Atlanta vs. Los Angeles Dodgers (if necessary)** » Fox Sports 1
8:30 p.m. **ALCS, Game 7: Houston vs. Tampa Bay** » TBS

SOCCER

7:30 a.m. **English Premier League: Liverpool at Everton** » NBC Sports Network
10 a.m. **Spanish La Liga: Atlético Madrid at Celta Vigo** » beIN Sports
10 a.m. **English Premier League: Southampton at Chelsea** » NBC Sports Network
12:30 p.m. **English Premier League: Arsenal at Manchester City** » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
12:30 p.m. **Spanish La Liga: Cádiz at Real Madrid** » beIN Sports
3 p.m. **Spanish La Liga: Barcelona at Getafe** » beIN Sports
4 p.m. **NWSL: North Carolina at Orlando** » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
6 p.m. **Mexican Liga MX: Puebla at Monterrey** » Fox Sports 2

GOLF

8 a.m. **European Tour: Scottish Championship, third round** » Golf Channel
2:30 p.m. **PGA Tour Champions: Dominion Energy Charity Classic, second round** » Golf Channel
5 p.m. **PGA Tour: CJ Cup, third round** » Golf Channel

HOCKEY

The Toronto Maple Leafs signed 41-year-old forward **Joe Thornton** to a one-year, \$700,000 contract. His 23rd NHL season will end his 15-year run with the San Jose Sharks. Thornton is a six-time all-star and the winner of the Hart Memorial Trophy in 2006 as the NHL’s MVP.

SOCCER

Philadelphia Union midfielder **Brenden Aaronson** will join FC Salzburg following the conclusion of the MLS season.

The Union announced that the 19-year-old signed a contract through 2025 with the Austrian

Bundesliga team. He will be able to play for the club when the international transfer window opens in January. . . .

Star striker **Kylian Mbappé** scored twice as Paris Saint-Germain won at 10-man Nimes, 4-0, to move to the top of the French league. . . .

French club Montpellier said 10 of the 12 positive cases for the coronavirus among its players and staff showed up as negative after a retest Friday. . . .

Qatar will host the postponed Asian Champions League final Dec. 19. . . .

Slovakia coach **Pavel Hapal** was fired after the team’s poor results in the Nations League.

TENNIS

5 a.m. **ATP: Sardinia Open, St. Petersburg Open and Cologne Indoors, semifinals** » Tennis Channel
9:30 a.m. **Ultimate Tennis Showdown 3, round robin** » Tennis Channel
3 a.m. **ATP: Sardinia Open, St. Petersburg Open and Cologne Indoors, finals** » (Sunday) Tennis Channel

AUTO RACING

12:30 p.m. **IMSA SportsCar Championship: Petit Le Mans** » NBC Sports Network
4 p.m. **NASCAR Truck Series: Clean Harbors 200** » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
7 p.m. **NASCAR Xfinity Series: Kansas Lottery 300** » NBC Sports Network
9:30 p.m. **IMSA SportsCar Championship: Petit Le Mans** » NBC Sports Network

BOXING

10 p.m. **Vasily Lomachenko vs. Teofimo Lopez (lightweights)** » ESPN

HORSE RACING

8:30 a.m. **British Champions Day** » Fox Sports 2

SWIMMING

2 p.m. **International Swimming League** » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)

TENNIS

Top-seeded **Alexander Zverev** advanced to the Cologne Indoors semifinals in Germany by beating **Lloyd Harris**, 6-4, 3-6, 6-0. The seventh-ranked Zverev next faces **Alejandro Davidovich Fokina**. The second-seeded **Roberto Bautista Agut** will meet **Felix Auger-Aliassime** in the other semifinal. . . .

Third-seeded Russian **Andrey Rublev** eased into the semifinals of the St. Petersburg Open in Russia and will play **Denis Shapovalov** for a place in Sunday’s final. In the other semifinal, **Borna Coric** will face 2015 champ **Milos Raonic**. . . .

Danilo Petrovic beat **Federico Delbonis**, 7-6 (7-1), 6-1, to reach

the Sardinia Open semifinals in Italy. Petrovic’s first ATP semifinal will be against **Marco Cecchinato**. Italian teenager **Lorenzo Musetti** also reached his first ATP semifinal and will face Serbia’s **Laslo Djere**.

MISC.

Anthony Joshua will defend his world heavyweight titles for the first time this year. It was confirmed that he will face **Kubrat Pulev** on Dec. 12 in London. . . .

Diego Ulissi sprinted to victory at the end of the 13th stage of the Giro d’Italia, and **João Almeida** held on to the pink jersey.

— From news services

PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

Former cheerleaders are shaken by lewd videos

CHEERLEADERS FROM D1

viewed as a reasonable exchange for the chance of a lifetime — loom larger knowing what they know now.

“I didn’t see it when I was younger, because I loved what I did,” said Evans, now 40, who cheered for five seasons. “I don’t think they viewed us as people. They viewed us as replaceable objects.”

In response to an email summarizing the allegations raised by former cheerleaders in this story, Washington’s NFL team declined to answer several questions and issued a statement.

“Like many companies and organizations, the Washington Football Team is examining its historical practices and behaviors,” the statement said. “We take the criticisms of our cheerleading program seriously and we remain committed to reviewing all programs thoroughly.”

Then-senior vice president Larry Michael told broadcasting staffers to produce the videos, according to two ex-employees, one of whom said the footage was to be assembled for team owner Daniel Snyder. Snyder and Michael have denied any knowledge of the videos, copies of which were obtained by The Post.

The videos include clips during which some of the cheerleaders’ nipples are exposed as they shift positions or adjust props shielding their breasts. Two of the women’s pubic areas are obscured only partly by body paint. The videos are set to the same three classic rock hits, including one each by the Rolling Stones and U2, bands Snyder said were his favorites in a 2011 interview.

Attorneys Lisa Banks and Debra Katz, who represent 12 of the ex-Washington cheerleaders, notified Snyder last month of their intent to sue the team over the videos.

The team this week agreed to the attorneys’ request for an “independent forensic investigation” to secure any copies of the 2008 and 2010 videos and any other unauthorized cheerleader videos that may exist in its computer system. Banks and Katz also met with the NFL, which in August assumed oversight of an investigation into the team’s treatment of women.

“My clients worked hard and proudly cheered for the Washington Football Team and in return were exploited and humiliated,” Banks said. “We are exploring all legal options to hold accountable those who are responsible, to protect my clients from further harm and to effect positive change for all women who continue to work with the team.”

Attorney Gloria Allred said she represents another 20 ex-cheerleaders but declined to comment or make any of her clients available for interviews.

‘I feel violated’

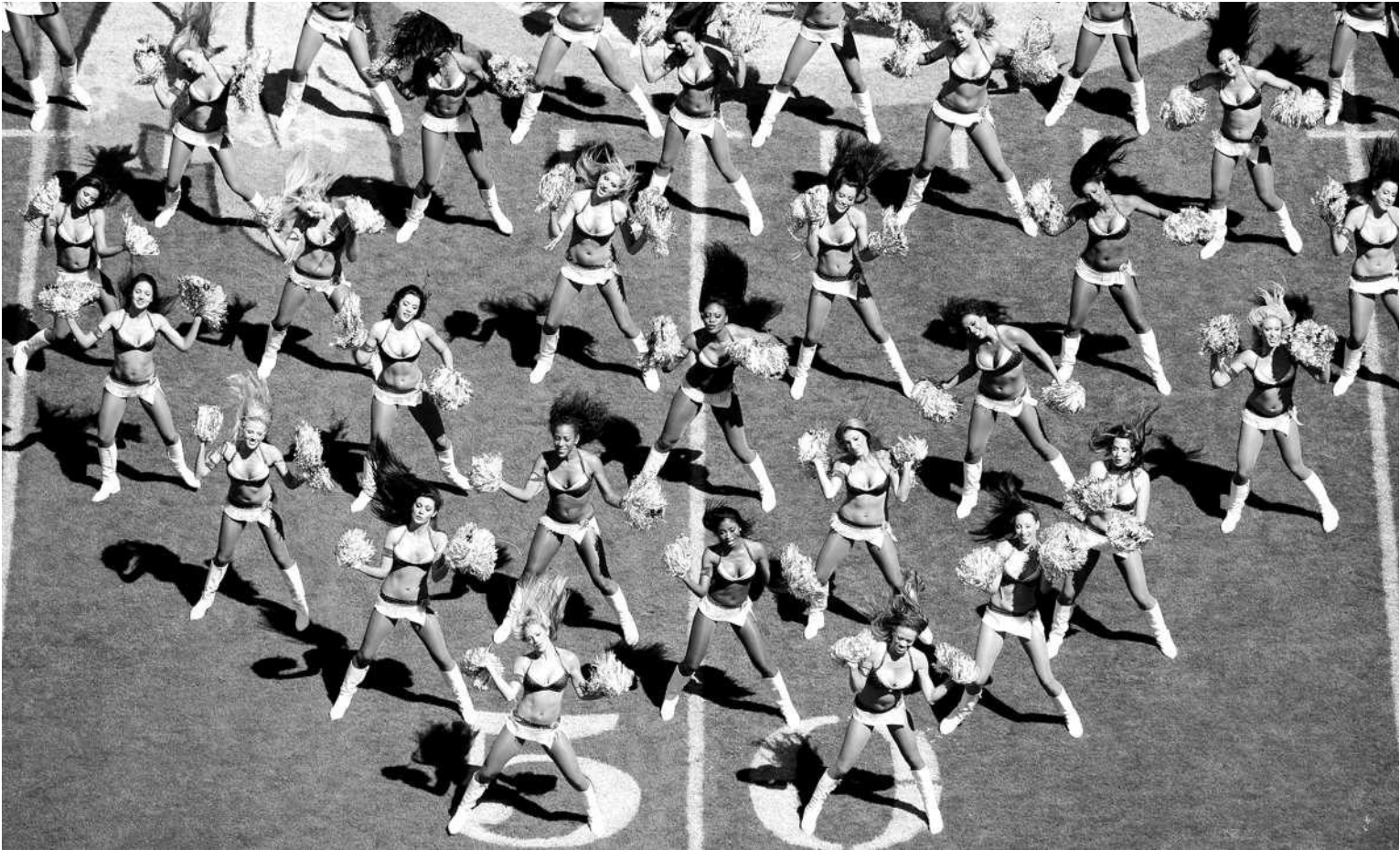
Since hearing about the videos, ex-cheerleaders have been reconnecting via Zoom calls and encrypted messaging services, commiserating and frantically trying to determine whether they appear in the footage. The videos have reinforced the kinship among them but also sowed tension. Should they talk to the media? Hire a lawyer? Which one? The women also are fielding uncomfortable queries from family and friends about the calendar shoots, though in their opinion, the tough questions should be directed at team officials.

“I’m going to have two grown sons at some point, and what are they going to find on the Internet — some mom porn?” asked 37-year-old Lee-Ann Campbell, who appears in both videos, though she is less exposed than others.

A few of the women exposed in the videos were 18 or 19 at the time of the shoots, including Ashley A. Taylor. In a promotional video for the 2010 calendar, the camera focuses on her face as she talks excitedly about her first trip overseas. In the unauthorized version, her nipples are briefly visible, and she is silent during a topless beach shoot.

Taylor became a junior cheerleader at 8 years old and spent five years on the regular squad. “I invested 15 total seasons . . . half of my life,” she wrote recently on Instagram. “I grew up in this organization and trusted them, my family trusted them, but now I feel violated.”

The former cheerleaders also worry that instead of holding officials to account, the team will disband the program. The Buffalo Bills did that after cheerleaders sued in 2014, alleging they were paid less than minimum wage and forced to pass “jiggle tests” to prove their physical fit-



NICK WASS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The contracts of former Washington cheerleaders required them to follow a code of conduct off the field — or face immediate termination.

ness.

“It shouldn’t be that because we’re asking for respect that we get punished and pushed aside,” said Michelle Moseley, 38, who cheered for seven years and appears in the 2008 video. “There is so much that is positive about the program.”

Like the cheerleaders he led, Donald Wells, who served as director from 1997 to 2009, is taking a hard look back at his experience with the team. He regrets that he could not have done more to protect the women. He also recalled a remark by Snyder that Wells said reveals his disrespect for the cheerleaders, their hard work and the value they brought to the team.

“You better keep them skinny with big tits or I’ll f---ing kill you,” Wells said Snyder told him at a 2004 charity event where the squad performed.

Snyder, who has been the team’s majority owner since 1999, declined an interview request for this story and did not respond to questions sent to his attorney and public relations firm about the comment Wells said he made.

Wells said he recently recounted the story to Banks, the attorney. “I would never have told anyone about that if it weren’t for the revelation that the videos were created of my cheerleaders without their knowledge,” he said. “I was embarrassed and scared if I said anything I might be fired.”

Low pay, long hours

Over the past six years, a procession of lawsuits against other NFL teams has revealed that, behind the glamour of performing on national television, many cheerleaders are subjected to sexist treatment and paid so little that they work as de facto volunteers.

Until about five years ago, the Washington cheerleaders earned \$75 per home game. On game days, black luxury cars ferrying Snyder and his inner circle park at the cheerleaders’ practice studio at FedEx Field. The squad is allotted limited parking spots, so women said they had to carpool on game days, when they worked as long as 12 hours.

“You weren’t even valued enough to park your own car to do your job,” said one former cheerleader, who like many of her teammates spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of repercussions. “We did it because dance was our passion and this was a rare opportunity as adults to keep dancing and performing. The money wasn’t the goal. But looking back on it, it kind of cheapens the whole thing.”

The swimsuit calendar has been an annual staple for the team since 1998, predating Snyder

and following the example set by the Dallas Cowboys cheerleaders, widely credited with parlaying sexy outfits and performances into revenue-boosting celebrity appeal.

Washington cheerleaders were required to sell at least 50 calendars, a quota that lawyers who have reviewed other teams’ contracts said is not unusual in the NFL. Ex-cheerleaders said selling calendars made them feel like children pressed into fundraising for a school or Girl Scout troop — except in this case, they were raising money for a franchise recently valued at \$3.5 billion. Former cheerleaders said if they didn’t meet the quota, they had to pay the team for the unsold calendars at the end of the season at the same time they received their one and only paycheck.

The decisions to pose topless or in body paint were their own, former cheerleaders said. But there was an understanding — or at least a perception — on the 40-member cheerleading squads that the sexier the shoot, the more likely to win a coveted calendar “month,” which helped them meet their individual sales targets.

One former cheerleader who was under 21 while on the squad said she felt the consequences of wearing more conservative bathing suits. She never got her own calendar month over three seasons. And at a time she was earning about \$1,000 per year, she lost hundreds of dollars on calendars she didn’t sell.

As the team’s on-field performance has crumbled during Snyder’s tenure and the demand for high-end luxury seats has ebbed, Washington has leaned on the cheerleaders to help maintain revenue streams.

Former cheerleaders said they were dispatched to entertain corporate sponsors and FedEx Field suite holders at business events, yacht parties, private homes — even bar mitzvah parties — in addition to twice-weekly rehearsals and charitable appearances. The contracts reviewed by The Post required attendance at a minimum of 20 public events, just half of which offered additional compensation.

Through its public relations firm, the team said cheerleaders now are paid hourly for all public events. The team declined to disclose how much the team pays cheerleaders and declined a request by The Post to review a current cheerleading contract.

For years, the team’s annual calendar shoots offered another chance for fans to get close to the cheerleaders. A flier obtained by The Post shows the practice dated from at least 2006, when the team offered a four-day, all-inclusive trip to the Dominican Repub-

lic for \$5,000 per person. “Watch the closed photo shoots for the 2006-2007 Redskins Cheerleaders Calendar . . . Participate in interactive beach games with the Redskins Cheerleaders and top the day off with dinner with the ladies!”

Evans recalled the male on-lookers — and that she was asked to take off her wedding ring. “I guess they wanted us to seem available,” she said.

In 2009, Moseley and three other cheerleaders were headed to a casino with season ticket holders and sponsors during a Super Bowl trip to Tampa, she said, when Dennis Greene, then-president of business operations, proposed a change in plans. He told two younger cheerleaders to put on bathing suits, put in drink orders and go out on a yacht with a male suite holder and friends they had never met, Moseley said.

“Had I not been there, had those girls not called me,” said Moseley, who said she told Greene her teammates would not be going on the yacht. “We were viewed as a commodity to sell and make money by any means necessary.”

Greene, who resigned in 2018 following a New York Times story that included allegations he had sold access to cheerleaders to meet sales targets, did not respond to requests to comment. The team said suite holders are no longer permitted on staff trips.

A double standard

The ex-cheerleaders weighing legal claims face significant but not insurmountable hurdles, said attorney Sharon Vinick, who brought successful wage-theft lawsuits against the New York Jets and Oakland Raiders.

The relevant state’s statute of limitations probably has expired, depending on where lawsuits are filed. The solution, Vinick said, is to argue “delayed discovery” — that the clock on the legal time frame for filing suit shouldn’t start ticking until the plaintiff learns of the violation rather than when it occurred.

The other challenge is that the contracts covering the cheerleaders in the 2008 and 2010 videos give the team what appears to be unfettered permission to use the women’s names, voices and images “in connection with any and all publications, broadcasts, websites, web postings, promotional photographs, promotional posters, and any other commercial or noncommercial products, including but not limited to calendars, team photos, T-shirts, videos, Internet content, and team marketing and sponsorship activities and materials.”

Vinick said she still thinks the former cheerleaders have a case. “There is no reasonable expecta-

tion that when these women are signing away the rights to their images that they signed them away to be sliced and diced into a porn video,” she said.

Founded in 1962, the organization previously known as the “Redskinettes” says it is the longest-running NFL cheerleading squad. Among the 26 teams with cheerleaders, there is no standardized contract, pay scale or union akin to the NFL Players Association. Typical of these contracts, lawyers say, is the contrast between the strict guidelines regulating the cheerleaders’ public image and the broad leeway granted the team to use their photos.

“The teams could post pictures of the girls in swimsuits, on the field with hardly anything on; they could post anything they wanted,” said attorney Sara Blackwell, who has advised several NFL cheerleading teams. “But on their own social media, the girls had to be very pure. Dress modestly. No alcohol in their hands. Basically, you had to look like a pure angel in social media or be immediately fired.”

Former Washington cheerleaders point to another double standard in the contract: that they “may not date, socialize, fraternize or flirt” with football players. The zero-tolerance policy, also common in the NFL, cost two Washington cheerleaders their jobs before the 2005 season. Both dated then-rising star tight end Chris Cooley.

Cooley said recently that he was never warned against socializing with cheerleaders.

“No one said anything to the players about who you do or don’t talk to,” said Cooley, who later worked for several years as a team broadcaster. “I didn’t feel like, in any way, that it was misconduct on my part.”

Cheerleaders, however, felt repercussions. When rehearsals were occasionally scheduled at the team’s facility in Ashburn, cheerleaders were told to stay in their cars until every football player had driven away after practice. Though the field was empty, cheerleaders had to wait for as long as an hour while players showered and left the building.

“If men can’t control themselves, if they look at you or anything happens, it’s your fault,” Moseley said. “Let’s not explain to the men in the organization that they need to treat women with respect. Let’s just hide you.”

Female office employees faced similar restrictions. A “conduct policies” email in 2017 formalized a long-standing protocol that women should avoid the ground floor, where they might pass by players.

Cheerleaders long have been instructed to leave a restaurant or bar immediately if a player walks in. Former members of the squad, as well as ex-director Wells, said they tolerated such rules because they were so devoted to the program and to one another.

“The women of the cheerleading program are held to a different standard than the men who worked at the organization,” he said. “I’ve never felt that was just.”

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Dalton Bennett contributed to this report.

NFL NOTES

Washington is not ready to allow fans despite order

FROM NEWS SERVICES AND STAFF REPORTS

The Washington Football Team is “evaluating” the possibility of allowing a limited number of fans at FedEx Field in the wake of a new order by Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan (R), but it is unlikely to lift its ban at this point, according to a person with knowledge of the situation.

Citing Maryland’s relatively stable rate of positive novel coronavirus tests, Hogan signed an executive order Friday that allows for up to 10 percent capacity at outdoor sports venues in the state.

In August, Washington announced it would begin the season with no fans at FedEx Field because of the pandemic. At the time, the club said it would reevaluate the decision if circumstances improved.

“This decision was not an easy one, but after several discussions with federal, state and local officials — along with input from some of the nation’s foremost medical experts, based right here in the nation’s capital — we are confident that it is the right one,” owner Daniel Snyder said in a statement at the time. “We are working to find ways to make our fans’ presence felt in new and innovative ways for 2020 and can’t wait to welcome the community through the gates as soon as it’s safe.”

Hogan said recently on NBC Sports Washington’s podcast that he was “in favor of safely trying to get some fans back in the stands” and that the Maryland Department of Health was “working very closely on that to try to work with the teams.”

Washington took a first step toward allowing fans back into the stadium Sunday when it let roughly 200 to 300 friends and family members of players, coaches and staff members attend its game against the Los Angeles Rams.

Washington is on the road this week to play the New York Giants at MetLife Stadium, where spectators are prohibited for the entirety of the season. But it returns home for Week 7 against the Dallas Cowboys and, after its bye, will host the Giants in Week 9.

— Nicki Jhabvala

• **VIKINGS:** NFL leading rusher Dalvin Cook will sit out Minnesota’s game Sunday against the Atlanta Falcons because of a groin injury, giving Alexander Mattison the opportunity for his first career start at running back.

The Vikings also announced Friday that right guard Dru Samia (wrist), cornerback Kris Boyd (hamstring) and wide receiver/kick returner K.J. Osborn (hamstring) were ruled out for the game. Cornerback Holton Hill (foot) was listed as doubtful.

• **FALCONS:** Seven-time Pro Bowl wide receiver Julio Jones returned to practice as a limited participant and hopes to play Sunday against the Vikings.

Jones has played just one half in the past three games because of a hamstring injury.

• **BROWNS:** Baker Mayfield finally fired some passes — none to Odell Beckham Jr.

Beckham missed another practice because of coronavirus protocols, and his status is uncertain. But Mayfield, who has been slowed this week by sore ribs, appears ready to play in Sunday’s hyped AFC North matchup against the unbeaten Pittsburgh Steelers.

• **STEELERS:** Pittsburgh ruled out Pro Bowl guard David DeCastro (abdominal) and wide receiver Diontae Johnson (back) for its game against Cleveland.

• **PACKERS:** Coach Matt LaFleur said wide receiver Davante Adams and defensive tackle Kenny Clark will be “ready to go” Sunday at the Tampa Bay Buccaneers after both players missed multiple games with injuries.

• **49ERS:** Jimmy Garoppolo said his sprained right ankle felt much better in practice, making San Francisco confident the quarterback can bounce back from a rough performance that got him pulled at halftime last weekend.

• **JAGUARS:** Jacksonville could be without DJ Chark against the Detroit Lions on Sunday. The Pro Bowl wide receiver was listed as questionable.

• **LIONS:** Detroit ruled out cornerback Desmond Trufant for Sunday’s game at Jacksonville and put tight end Hunter Bryant on injured reserve. Trufant is out with a hamstring injury; Bryant has dealt with hamstring and concussion issues.

Conduct

1. Your role as a Cheerleader is to support and contribute to the football and business operations of the Redskins organization, not to socialize with players. Cheerleaders may not date, socialize, fraternize, or flirt with any member of the football team, coaching staff, football-related personnel, or sponsors of the Cheerleaders either on or off the Redskins premises, at any time. This includes any contact whatsoever with any Redskins football player. The only exception to this rule is courteous interaction at team-sponsored events. Any violation of this rule is grounds for immediate termination, without notice.

Above is the first rule of conduct from the Washington Redskins’ cheerleader contract in 2009.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

After three straight slow starts, the Cavaliers are seeking a sense of urgency

BY GENE WANG

Virginia football coach Bronco Mendenhall had a clear message for his players during their team meeting Monday morning, less than 48 hours after the Cavaliers had lost their second game in a row and continued a troublesome trend of falling behind early.

The uninspired starts were unacceptable, especially for a program aspiring to contend for ACC championships on the heels of winning the Coastal Division last year for the first time.

The Cavaliers (1-2), who face Wake Forest (1-2) at 4 p.m. Saturday in Winston-Salem, N.C., have been outscored 34-0 during the first quarter. They fell behind 14-0 in the first quarter of their most recent loss, a 38-21 defeat to visiting North Carolina State last Saturday.

“That’s atypical for teams I’ve coached, but we’re winning the second and fourth quarters,” Mendenhall said. “And so what’s happening, for whatever reason — and we started to address it last week in practice — that was kind of a theory, but it kept going — is we’re playing with more urgency and more focus once we’re behind. It can’t take us to be behind to play with that urgency and focus. Certainly we’re demonstrating the capability because we’re doing so in the second and fourth quarters. The biggest discrepancy is in quarter one.”

Mendenhall suggested the transition to a new quarterback might be partly to blame for the first-quarter scoring issues. Brennan Armstrong, a left-handed sophomore, started the first three games after taking over for the record-setting Bryce Perkins, who’s now on the Los Angeles Rams’ practice squad.



JOHN MCDONNELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

Virginia quarterback Brennan Armstrong suffered a concussion during last week’s loss and is uncertain to play Saturday at Wake Forest.

Last week, Armstrong (6 for 9, 57 yards, two interceptions) exited in the second quarter with a concussion. He is uncertain to face Wake Forest, leaving Lindell Stone to work with the first team in practice this week.

Mendenhall deemed Armstrong day-to-day while in the concussion protocol. He said he expects senior safety Joey Blount

and junior wide receiver/kick returner Tavares Kelly Jr., both hurt against North Carolina State, to play Saturday.

Stone, a junior, completed 30 of 54 passes for 240 yards and three touchdowns, all career highs, in just his fifth appearance with the Cavaliers and the first that did not begin in the fourth quarter. He also threw an inter-

ception that was returned 18 yards for a touchdown.

“Lindell did not have many practice reps at all with our offense,” Mendenhall said. “He was really working with our defense and helping us in that regard, and just that he came in and was effective and moved the football team, I was encouraged by that.”

It’s unclear how much Virginia’s game plan will change with Stone directing the offense. At 6-foot and 240 pounds, he’s better suited to be a drop-back passer, Mendenhall said, compared with Armstrong, who has run well at times.

The Cavaliers threw 64 times against North Carolina State, by far their most attempts this

season, but Mendenhall attributed that in part to trying to erase an early 24-0 deficit.

“A lot of what we saw of Lindell was situational,” offensive coordinator Robert Anae said. “Now that he’s our starting quarterback, we also believe there are things he does well, so we want to start there. We also believe there are things we can do running the football.”

The Cavaliers had permitted touchdown drives of 50 and 58 yards by the time Stone entered in relief of Armstrong, who took a blow to the helmet from Wolfpack safety Tanner Ingle while sliding at the end of a run. Officials ejected Ingle for targeting.

Scoring first has been a point of emphasis this week for Virginia, but it takes on additional importance given how that statistic has influenced its series with Wake Forest, which dates from 1889. Since 1982, spanning 26 matchups, the winner has scored first 19 times. The Cavaliers won 16 of those 19 games and have scored on their first possession 10 times against Wake Forest since 1987. Virginia won the first nine of those games.

Virginia has lost three straight in the series, most recently in 2016, a 27-20 road defeat in the only game Mendenhall has coached against the Demon Deacons. The streak matches Wake Forest’s record for consecutive wins against the Cavaliers.

“That’s definitely something we’re working on,” junior left tackle Ryan Nelson said. “And we’ll probably make changes in our practice and have a better emphasis on starting fast during practice. Sometimes things happen in games, and we just have to adapt faster to it, and we’ll definitely do better.”

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For Bulldogs, no time like the present

SABAN FROM D1

“I can tell you we’ve had a lot worse practices when I’ve been there,” he concluded, “so maybe it was a good thing I wasn’t there.”

Then he did laugh, which he does a bit more than reputed, his occasional outbursts usually snaring the attention and luring the clicks.

The eccentric truth is his expected absence from the game at Bryant-Denny Stadium dovetails with the theme already entrenched when this cross-division matchup that doesn’t happen every year turned up on the 2020 schedule. Can Georgia ever beat Alabama again? Surely it will someday, but its plight in trying to do so has left it subject to the kind of talk-radio analysis that centers on Michigan and its annual woes with Ohio State.

Georgia couldn’t beat Alabama when it led 20-7 in the third quarter of the 2017-18 College Football Playoff championship game in Atlanta. It couldn’t beat Alabama when it led 28-14 in the third quarter of the 2018 SEC championship game and lined up for a 30-yard field goal to boot. (It missed.) It couldn’t beat Alabama when Crimson Tide quarterback Jalen Hurts stalled and had to yield to backup Tua Tagovailoa in that former game, and it couldn’t beat Alabama when Tagovailoa got injured and had to yield to Hurts in that latter game.

It hasn’t beaten Alabama since Sept. 22, 2007, in Saban’s first Alabama season, when they went to overtime in Tuscaloosa and Alabama led 23-20 until Georgia scored on Mikey Henderson’s 25-yard touchdown catch from Matthew Stafford. Now Stafford has gone to the NFL long enough to become a mainstay’s mainstay — 12 seasons — while Alabama has beaten Georgia five times across 13 years, beginning with Stafford’s final Georgia season of 2008.

Then everybody got to 2020, and the SEC got started, and Georgia’s defense looked peerless, and Alabama’s defense looked porous. Then the SEC season went from fingers crossed to star-crossed, and Alabama probably won’t have its coach or 75 percent of its fans in its stadium.

It has Saban saying, “I’m not sure exactly how this is going to play out in terms of when the game comes.” That’s rare uncertainty for a man who has fought so long to minimize — no, atomize — uncertainty. Wagering lines have shifted from a touchdown or more to down around four points in most cases. So if Georgia can’t win this time . . .

Is it uncouth to entertain that thought, or is it one of those distractions from the anxiety?



L.G. PATTERSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Alabama rallied to victories in its past two matchups with Georgia, but Nick Saban may miss this one.

In his stalwart way, Saban tilted it toward the latter. “Our guys have showed great maturity,” Saban said of his team through the spring and summer and early fall of 2020, adding, “I’m sure they’ll handle this in a positive way as well.” He also said: “I feel fine. I felt fine. I was very surprised by this.” He wasn’t entirely unprepared. Coaching staffs around the country have been holding meetings about succession lines, carefully planned protocols for if any coach tests positive.

He hurried home, he told the team by Zoom about the test, and then he watched practice. “I had the manager, had a phone,” he said. “If I wanted a play repeated, I said: ‘Replay that play. So-and-so messed up.’ So I didn’t leave the country or anything. I’m just right down the street.” He said he hadn’t “blocked anybody or tackled anybody, caught any passes, thrown any passes in a game for a

long, long time, so it’s still going to be up to how our players execute, and it’s up to us to get them in the best position to do that.”

In that, he managed to describe how, in one wretched turn for one man within a global tragedy, a big game got a notch more curious. Because almost nobody has been through anything like this before, it’s hard to know whether such curiosity is acceptable.

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TODAY’S TV GAMES

There’s only one meeting of ranked teams Saturday, and the face of one of those programs — and probably all of 21st-century college football, if we’re being honest — probably won’t even be in the stadium after Alabama Coach Nick Saban tested positive for the novel coronavirus this week. At least the Crimson Tide is still playing Georgia; two other SEC games (LSU-Florida and Vanderbilt-Missouri) were postponed because of the pandemic.

EARLY SHIFT

Noon	Navy at East Carolina » ESPN2
Noon	Liberty at Syracuse » MASN
Noon	No. 1 Clemson at Georgia Tech » ABC
Noon	Pittsburgh at No. 13 Miami » ACC Network
Noon	No. 15 Auburn at South Carolina » ESPN
Noon	Kentucky at No. 18 Tennessee » SEC Network
Noon	Kansas at West Virginia » Fox
Noon	Texas State at South Alabama » ESPNU
1:30	Army at Texas San Antonio » CBS Sports Network
1:30	Western Kentucky at UAB » MASN2

The past three games between **Central Florida and Memphis** went as follows: a 56-41 Knights win in the 2018 American Athletic title game in which UCF came back from a 17-point halftime deficit, outscoring the Tigers 35-3 in the second half; a 31-30 Knights road win during the 2018 regular season in which they trailed by 16 late in the first half; and a 62-55 double-overtime UCF win in the 2017 AAC championship game, when the teams combined for 117 points — a Football Bowl Subdivision record for a conference title game — and 1,479 yards.

Memphis, which has lost 13 straight to UCF, has been one of the teams most affected by the pandemic, at least schedule-wise: The Tigers opened the season Sept. 5 with a win over Arkansas State, didn’t play again until their loss to SMU on Oct. 3 and then had another two weeks off until now. Central Florida is coming off a loss to Tulsa, so consider this something of an AAC elimination game. There are no divisions starting this year, and the two teams with the best conference records will play in the championship game.

SWING SHIFT

2:30	Louisville at No. 4 Notre Dame » NBC
3:30	Mississippi at Arkansas » SEC Network
3:30	Central Florida at Memphis » ABC
3:30	Duke at North Carolina State » MASN
4	No. 11 Texas A&M at Mississippi State » ESPN
4	Virginia at Wake Forest » ACC Network
4	Massachusetts at Georgia Southern » ESPN2
5	North Texas at Middle Tennessee » MASN2

Texas A&M barely beat Vanderbilt, got throttled by Alabama but then stuck around long enough to upset Florida last weekend. Mississippi State stunned LSU in its first game as the defending national champion but then lost to Arkansas and was last seen putting up all of two points against Kentucky. So who the heck knows what’s going to happen when **the Aggies visit the Bulldogs**? In Mike Leach’s first 231 games as a head coach, his offense had failed to score a touchdown just six times — before last Saturday’s game made it seven out of 232. Six of Mississippi State’s final 11 drives ended with an interception, with Stanford transfer K.J. Costello throwing four of them before his benching. Costello shredded LSU for an SEC-record 623 passing yards in the opener but has thrown seven interceptions in the past two games. The Bulldogs’ defense, on the other hand, has been anything but a letdown: Mississippi State gave up only 157 yards to Kentucky.

NIGHT SHIFT

6	Marshall at Louisiana Tech » CBS Sports Network
7:30	No. 5 North Carolina at Florida State » ABC
8	Boston College at No. 23 Virginia Tech » ESPN2
8	No. 3 Georgia at No. 2 Alabama » CBS

Testing positive has sent Saban into asymptomatic isolation, and he probably won’t be on the sideline Saturday for **the Crimson Tide’s game against Georgia**. But even if he hadn’t tested positive, Saban might have needed some alone time after Alabama’s defensive performance last Saturday, when Mississippi reeled off 647 yards and 48 points.

The Bulldogs’ offense isn’t nearly as go-go as the Rebels’, but Georgia’s elite defense should keep this one from becoming a replica of last week’s track meet, even with Alabama having the nation’s top offense. As ESPN’s Bill Connelly pointed out, in the six previous non-bowl meetings between the team that finished the year with the No. 1 offense and the team that finished with the No. 1 defense (in terms of SP+, a measure of overall efficiency), the team with the top defense won five times. The outlier: Georgia’s loss to LSU in the SEC championship game in December.

— Matt Bonesteel

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Navy searches for consistency as it heads to East Carolina

BY KAREEM COPELAND

Ken Niumatalolo was uninterested in talking career milestones this week. The Navy coach reached 100 wins Saturday but didn't want to wax poetic about what the accomplishment meant or spend much time reminiscing. There are bigger things to worry about at the moment, and reflection will have to wait.

"It's not time to sit back and reflect on this," Niumatalolo said. "Maybe when I'm in Hawaii driving a bus in however many years I can sit back and reflect. In this profession, if you start reflecting on stuff, you'll have a lot of time to reflect because you'll get fired."

The focus for this week, with a trip to East Carolina on Saturday, is finding consistency after the Midshipmen (2-2, 2-0 American Athletic) put together their best

60 minutes of football in a 31-29 victory over Temple. That came seven days after they were blown out, 40-7, by rival Air Force.

Navy piled up a season-high 251 rushing yards against the Owls as the offense looked like the punishing triple option that is the trademark of the program. There was a physicality that was missing in previous games, particularly from an offensive line that opened gaping holes in the defense. The fullbacks finally got going, with Nelson Smith posting a career-high 120 rushing yards and two touchdowns and Jamale Carothers adding 53 yards and a score.

"It was just a gut check," Navy offensive coordinator Ivin Jasper said. "Got embarrassed. Our pride hurt. Got hit in the mouth, and we had to answer. Like anything else, when you get embar-

assed and get your butt kicked, you want another chance at going out there and making up for it. Rectifying things.

"Coach Niumatalolo got after those guys in a team meeting about being a physical football team. A physical O-line, that's where it all starts at. They took it personally."

As odd as this pandemic-affected season has been and as ugly as losses to Air Force and BYU by a combined 85 points were, the Midshipmen sit atop the conference with a 2-0 record in league play. No other AAC team has played two conference games without a loss.

Navy travels to face a team in East Carolina (1-2, 1-1) that seems to be dealing with some kind of novel coronavirus issue within the roster. Coach Mike Houston spoke Wednesday about "some

issues" and added there wasn't a "clear picture" of positive test numbers or contact-tracing details. Houston declined to address questions about the status of specific players.

"We're all dealing with a lot of stuff," Houston said. "It's not been easy to deal with, and it's a situation we take very seriously in the way we handle it and our protocols.

"We are dealing with some issues right now. We'll continue to work through them as the week goes on. . . . It's a situation that's still very fluid. . . . I'm excited about the group that we have on the field. We have had to make some adjustments. Those adjustments have been made and will continue to be made."

Houston added, "We won't have a true picture until the end of the week of what our roster is

going to look like."

The AAC requires testing three times per week, including Friday for those playing on Saturday. A conference game between Cincinnati and Tulsa scheduled for Saturday was rescheduled for Dec. 5 because of positive cases in the Bearcats' program.

So the Midshipmen continue their weekly tradition of preparing for a team without fully knowing whom they will face. BYU, Air Force and Temple all played their openers against Navy, so there was no tape from this season to scout leading up to the games.

Navy has continued to focus on itself during preparations, and this week the goal is sustainability. The Midshipmen played horrific football against BYU and in the first half against Tulane before rallying from 24 points down

in the second half. The gains from that second half were nowhere to be seen against Air Force, but those regressions disappeared against Temple despite Navy being down five defensive starters.

A measure of consistency is the next step forward for the 2020 Midshipmen.

"Hopefully, we've got some consistency with the quarterback [Dalen Morris] now," Niumatalolo said. "That will definitely help us from that standpoint. Our guys have been working hard. Some of our young linemen that haven't played as much are getting comfortable.

"Just having those guys in there. A quarterback that has played two games. . . . Hopefully some of the experience will help us to continue to get better."

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After 100 wins and countless tears, Niumatalolo has cemented legacy in Annapolis

 As Ken Niumatalolo explained it Monday, he and his wife, Barbara, always had a routine after Navy home games. They would drive to the Annapolis Safeway, and Barbara would go inside to choose something for dinner while Ken sat in the car and began looking at video clips from that day's game. The pandemic has changed that, though, because now the Niumatalolos — like so many people — have groceries delivered to their house.

And so, last Saturday evening, after Navy held on to beat Temple, 31-29, for the 100th victory of Niumatalolo's Naval Academy career, they decided they had to find a different way to celebrate.

"Chick-fil-A," Niumatalolo said. There was one problem: Chick-fil-A already had closed.

"So we went to McDonald's," Niumatalolo said during a Zoom call. "I hadn't been for years. But it was nice to have a Double Quarter Pounder with Cheese."

Perhaps nothing sums up Niumatalolo better than his confession that he celebrated win No. 100 with, as he called it, "bad food."

That may be the extent of Niumatalolo's vices: occasionally eating food he knows isn't healthy.



Ken Niumatalolo, who took over as football coach at the Naval Academy in 2007, earned his 100th career win last Saturday vs. Temple.

"I know I say some crazy things to you guys on the practice field," he told his players a year ago after a dramatic win over Air Force. "But I do it for moments like this."

Of course, Niumatalolo cried early and often that day after the Mids scored in the final seconds to win. He is a self-described "big crybaby," and he knew the Air Force victory was the first real signal that the difficult moves he had made during the previous offseason, in the wake of a 3-10 disaster in 2018, were paying off. He had fired assistant coaches who had been good friends, he had demanded that the athletic department show more support for the football team, and he had implored his players not to make excuses for losses but to find ways to make certain they didn't happen again.

The changes sure seem to have paid off. The Mids used that Air Force win as a springboard to an 11-2 season that was highlighted by a 31-7 win over Army that snapped a three-game losing streak to their archrivals.

I have been fortunate enough to know Niumatalolo since he arrived at Navy in 1995 as an assistant coach on Charlie Weatherbie's staff. I remember the first time I really noticed him on the practice field. I was half paying attention when I heard *screaming* coming from the middle of the field. It was Niumatalolo, letting the offensive line know he was not at all happy with what he was seeing.

Niumatalolo became the offensive coordinator after Paul Johnson left to become the head coach at Georgia Southern in

1997. But when things began to slip for Weatherbie, Niumatalolo became one of the scapegoats. Weatherbie decided to abandon Johnson's option offense and bring in a new offensive staff. In Weatherbie's last season in Annapolis in 2001, the Midshipmen were 0-10, saved from 0-11 only by the cancellation of a game at Northwestern.

When Johnson was hired to replace Weatherbie, his first move was to bring Niumatalolo back. Six seasons later, Johnson had become an icon at the academy. He took the Mids to five straight bowl games, went 6-0 against Army and — perhaps most important — ended Navy's 43-game losing streak to Notre Dame.

Six days after Navy trounced Army to end that 2007 season,

Johnson took the Georgia Tech job. Athletic Director Chet Gladchuk immediately named Niumatalolo as his successor. The program was certainly on solid ground. Even after losing that season's Poinsettia Bowl to Utah, the Mids finished 8-5. That was the good news. The bad news was that following Johnson at Navy was a little bit like following Elvis in concert.

Except that Niumatalolo has himself become an icon, although in a much quieter way than Johnson, his former boss and mentor.

Niumatalolo has had plenty of chances to leave for a civilian school, to go to a job where recruits don't run from the room at the mention of the five-year service obligation upon graduation. The closest he came

to leaving was in 2015, when he was pursued by Brigham Young.

It seemed inevitable that Niumatalolo would leave. He is a devout Mormon, and BYU is a Mormon school. Plus, his son Va'a was playing there. He had already done just about everything there was to do at Navy: He was 8-0 against Army, had won the Commander-in-Chief's Trophy five times and had become Navy's all-time winningest coach.

Tearfully (of course), Niumatalolo more or less said farewell to his players after their win over Army.

"I really did think I was going to take the job when I went out there," he said later. "Part of it was feeling an obligation to my church."

But the BYU search committee blew it. Instead of convincing Niumatalolo that he needed to take the job, it kept asking him why it should *offer* him the job. Niumatalolo's ego isn't anywhere close to Johnson's, but the (non) pitch bothered him. He had gone to BYU to be sold on why he should leave a job he loved. Instead, he was asked to sell himself.

No thanks. He turned down the job.

It now seems likely that Niumatalolo will coach at Navy until he retires. He's only 55, and you would think before he quits, the field at Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium will bear his name. The field is named for Navy graduate Jack Stephens, a past chairman of Augusta National Golf Club, because of a huge donation Stephens made to the academy.

Niumatalolo's name should be added to Stephens's. His contributions to Navy go way beyond money.

But don't tell him that. It's all about the players and his coaches and everyone he works with.

"I'm just a fat guy who stands in the middle of the field," he said once.

Well, he might eat a Double Quarter Pounder with Cheese every once in a while, but let's be honest: He has earned it.

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For more by John Feinstein, visit washingtontop.com/feinstein.

Secondary issues put Va. Tech on defensive

VIRGINIA TECH FROM D1

secondary. "It was like eighth-grade football. That's what it was, so I hate it for our kids, but that was the situation we were in."

Fuente did indicate he expects safety Divine Deablo to return against the Eagles, who are second in the ACC in passing (295.3 yards per game). The senior starter missed the past two games, including last week's 56-45 loss to fifth-ranked North Carolina.

Freshman Keonta Jenkins, the other starting safety, also was out for the game in Chapel Hill, N.C.

Walk-on Tyler Matheny (Lake Braddock High) replaced Deablo for the past two games at free safety, and the Hokies rotated players at the other safety spot. Redshirt sophomore Alan Tisdale, normally an outside linebacker, finished last Saturday's game at rover.

"It was just then and there at the moment," said Tisdale, who missed a 38-31 win against Duke two weeks ago. "They needed me

there at the position, and, I mean, I'll play anywhere. I'll play nickel. I'll play free safety if they need me to. So in that situation they needed someone there, so I just had to fill in."

Jermaine Waller, normally a starting cornerback, moved to nickel when starter Chamarri Conner was disqualified for targeting. Waller, a D.C. native, missed the first two games of the year while recovering from a foot injury suffered last season.

The Hokies surrendered 656 yards of total offense, the second most in program history, and gave up the most points since 2002 after falling behind 21-0 in the first quarter and 42-17 in the second half. Two North Carolina running backs rushed for a combined 383 yards, including 214 from Michael Carter. The Tar Heels rushed for 399 yards overall.

"I wish I could just open it up and show you guys," Fuente said. "It's really an issue, quite honestly. You get a guy that I haven't seen in 10 days, the first day it's on the



Coach Justin Fuente, center, and the Hokies are seeking novel ways to deal with a depleted secondary.

Friday walk-through. I mean, I literally hadn't seen him yet, and he shows up, and he has to play 75 snaps at a position he's never played."

Virginia Tech absorbed an-

other blow at safety when Fuente revealed this week that Tyree Rodgers will not play the rest of the season to concentrate on academics. The redshirt senior with three career starts had been listed

second on the depth chart at free safety.

The Hokies are down to five scholarship safeties after the indefinite suspension of redshirt junior Devon Hunter, a projected

starter, because of a felony arrest and a season-ending noncontact injury to Nasir Peoples, a redshirt sophomore, unrelated to the pandemic.

Others in the secondary who have missed time include starting cornerback Armani Chatman and his backup, Devin Taylor, in addition to Brion Murray, another reserve cornerback.

Virginia Tech is without its top cornerback for the rest of the season after Caleb Farley opted out to focus on the NFL draft, citing issues with the school's virus safety protocols and some teammates flouting precautions by going to the beach and not getting tested upon returning to campus.

The Hokies did experience a spike in cases with the return of the general student population, leading to a postponement of their game against Virginia that had been scheduled for Sept. 19.

"We had some young players out there that played a tremendous amount of snaps in situations that they probably shouldn't have been in that we really had no other choice," Fuente said. "I'm hopeful that they can recover and play.

"That does something to a guy when you're a young player and you're in a situation like that, not just physically but mentally."

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BASEBALL

During his Nationals career, Taylor’s greatest moments came in the biggest spots

On Baseball

SCOTT ALLEN

When I remember Michael A. Taylor, whose 11-year tenure with the Nationals organization ended Thursday when he elected for free agency rather than accept an assignment to the Nationals’ Class AAA affiliate, I also will remember Duane Dargin.

On Opening Day 2015, MLB Commissioner Rob Manfred was scheduled to throw the ceremonial first pitch at Nationals Park, but he asked Dargin, a member of the Nationals Youth Baseball Academy, to take the mound on his behalf. Dargin, who was 9 at the time, threw a perfect strike to Ian Desmond.

“I had a feeling that it was going to be a little bit off — just a little bit — but I was able to get it straight down [the middle],” Dargin told me during the game, adding that he wasn’t the least bit nervous. I asked him who his favorite player was and expected he would say Bryce Harper or maybe Stephen Strasburg. But no, it was Taylor, whom Dargin had met the previous season when he was invited to shout “Play ball” atop the Nationals’ dugout before a game.

“He’s a Black player, and usually Black players don’t play baseball,” explained Dargin, who is also Black. “I want to play for the Nationals, and he plays for the Nationals, and that motivates me even more to play baseball.”

Taylor leaves a mixed legacy on the field in D.C., where he earned the nickname Michael K. Taylor with a portion of the fan base for his propensity to strike out. But he also demonstrated a knack for coming through in the biggest

spots. Here’s a chronological look at some of the best moments.

Aug. 12, 2014: Memorable introduction

“It’s more than I expected, and it’s a good day,” Taylor said after going 2 for 4 with a home run in his major league debut, a 7-1 win over the New York Mets at Citi Field.

Taylor singled off Mets starter Rafael Montero in the second inning and hit a two-run homer off reliever Carlos Torres in the sixth to cap his big day, becoming the third Nationals player to have at least two hits and a homer in his first big league game.

Aug. 13, 2014: Pranked

The day after his dazzling debut, Taylor’s teammates cut the back panel out of his batting practice cap, revealing his high-top fade. Perhaps they were worried the rookie’s head would get too big. Taylor went 0 for 4 with three strikeouts and struggled for much of the rest of his first season. He finished the year with one home run, five RBI and a .205 average in 39 at-bats. In 2015, the Potomac Nationals celebrated Taylor’s debut and high-top fade with a bobblehead.

May 13, 2015: Improbable grand slam in the desert

With one out, the bases loaded and the Nationals trailing the Arizona Diamondbacks 6-5 in the ninth, Taylor came up to face closer Addison Reed in the cleanup spot. Taylor began the day on the bench but entered the game after Harper was ejected for arguing a strikeout in the seventh inning. In his first career plate appearance with the bases full, Taylor took Reed deep to center field, lifting the Nationals to a 9-6 win.

“Of course I want to be up there in that situation, but Mike



TONI L. SANDYS/THE WASHINGTON POST

Michael A. Taylor made the most of his only plate appearance in the World Series, hitting a home run in the ninth inning of Game 2.

... I guess I owe him a steak dinner,” Harper said. “He did what he did up there to get that [win]. Tipping my cap to Mikey, and I’m glad he came through for us.”

Sept. 8, 2017: Inside-the-park grand slam

Taylor had four hits and five RBI in Washington’s 11-10 win over the Philadelphia Phillies, including a 15-second dash around the bases for an inside-the-park grand slam after center

fielder Odubel Herrera misjudged his line drive.

“Soon as it went over his head, I was thinking four right there,” said Taylor, who also benefited from catcher Jorge Alfaro’s inability to handle the relay throw to the plate.

It was the first inside-the-park grand slam in the majors since Philadelphia’s Aaron Altherr hit one Sept. 25, 2015, which was made possible by a misplay by Taylor.

“Oh, really?” Taylor, who committed his fair share of gaffes in the field, told reporters when informed of the coincidence. “Feels better to be on this side of it.”

Oct. 11, 2017: Keeping the Nationals alive

Taylor had a .237 batting average, .291 on-base percentage and .395 slugging percentage and had struck out in 31 percent of his plate appearances during the regular season. His strikeout rate was only a percentage point better in the postseason, but Taylor had an impressive .316/.395/.632 slash line with four home runs in 38 playoff at-bats.

With the Nationals clinging to a one-run lead against the Chicago Cubs in the eighth inning of a do-or-die Game 4 of the 2017 National League Division Series, Taylor provided needed insurance with the first postseason grand slam in team history.

“Honestly, I didn’t think it was going to get out,” Taylor said of his two-out, opposite field homer off Wade Davis that cut through the wind and just cleared the basket at Wrigley Field.

Oct. 12, 2017: Michael A. Tater

The next night, with “See You Later! Michael A. Tater” T-shirts fresh off the presses and available for sale at Nationals Park, Taylor did it again. His three-run homer off Kyle Hendricks in the second inning gave the Nationals a 4-1 lead over the Cubs in the deciding Game 5. The team’s first playoff series win was within reach.

If the Nationals didn’t go on to lose the game, 9-8, in heartbreaking and unbelievable fashion, Taylor’s heroics in the series would be remembered even more fondly.

Oct. 9, 2019: Series-clinching catch

Taylor made dozens of defensive gems in his career, including the time he robbed the Los Angeles Angels’ Juan Graterol of extra bases an inning after fouling a ball off his own face, but one of his more memorable catches sealed the Nationals’ first trip to the NL Championship Series.

After Howie Kendrick gave the Nationals the lead over the Los Angeles Dodgers with a grand slam in the 10th inning of Game 5 of last year’s NLDS at Dodger Stadium, Taylor came racing forward to make a diving grab of Justin Turner’s flyball to shallow center field for the final out of the game. As his teammates poured out of the dugout to celebrate, a smiling Taylor took the ball out of his glove and held it up, as if to say, “Anyone want this?”

Oct. 12, 2019: Solo shot in the NLCS

Taylor opened the scoring in Game 2 of the NLCS with a solo home run to left off St. Louis Cardinals starter Adam Wainwright. The Nationals went on to win, 3-1, and took a two-games-to-none lead back to D.C.

Oct. 23, 2019: World Series home run

Taylor had one plate appearance in the World Series, and he made the most of it, launching a solo home run off Houston Astros reliever Chris Devenski in the ninth inning of Game 2 to extend Washington’s lead to 12-2. If Taylor never makes it back to the World Series, he will retire with a perfect on-base-plus-slugging percentage of 5.000 and an unblemished strikeout rate on baseball’s biggest stage.

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NOTES

Indictment handed down in Skaggs’s overdose case

FROM NEWS SERVICES

A federal grand jury indicted a former Los Angeles Angels employee on drug charges for allegedly providing pitcher Tyler Skaggs with the drugs that caused his overdose death.

Eric Prescott Kay was charged Thursday with drug distribution and drug conspiracy in Skaggs’s overdose death, according to the indictment in Fort Worth. The charges carry a maximum of a life sentence and 20 years in prison, respectively.

Kay remained free on his own recognizance. A message seeking comment from Kay’s attorney, Reagan Wynn, was not immediately returned.

Skaggs was found dead in his suburban Dallas hotel room July 1, 2019, before the start of what was supposed to be a four-game series against the Texas Rangers. The first game was postponed.

A coroner’s report said Skaggs died with a toxic mix of alcohol and the drugs fentanyl and oxycodone in his system, which Kay was accused of providing.

Kay was the Angels’ director of communications, and he served as their public relations contact on many road trips. He was placed on leave shortly after Skaggs’s death, and he never returned to the team. Team officials said they had not been aware that Skaggs, a 27-year-old left-hander, was an opioids user and didn’t know any employees were providing drugs to players.

Prosecutors said in August that they planned to charge Kay with drug-related distribution offenses but at the time did not indicate they would charge him in Skaggs’s death. At the time, they issued a statement that said that after Skaggs’s autopsy, “it was later ascertained that but for the fentanyl, Mr. Skaggs would not have died.”

•MISC.: There have been zero new positive novel coronavirus cases among players for 47 consecutive days, Major League Baseball and the players’ association announced Friday.

A total of 5,026 samples were collected and tested during the Week of Oct. 8-14, including players and staff.

The total number of tests to date is 169,143, with 91 positive tests (57 players and 34 staff members). Twenty-one different teams have had at least one positive test during the monitoring phase.

Rays’ move backfires, and Astros force a Game 7

ALCS FROM D1

prayed, let’s get through this without using Framber Valdez. If there were extra innings, Valdez would have jogged in from the bullpen for the 10th. The Astros, had they survived, would have been stripped of their best-case plan. Baker could have been starter-less.

But Correa helped Baker breathe easy. His game-winning homer both extended Houston’s run and kept Valdez on ice. That’s how Valdez, 26, got to face Blake Snell with the season resting on his left arm. Cash stuffed his lineup with seven right-handed batters. In response, Valdez threw six dominant innings to aid a heaving bullpen.

“We’ve had some big moments that have led to many wins in this postseason,” Cash said of his uneven offense, a group that has struggled outside of Randy Arozarena and Manuel Margot. “But we have not had that offense that just continues to put pressure on the pitcher or opposing defense.”

Willy Adames answered that call with an RBI double in the second. The issue was that no one else did until Margot clubbed two late homers to dent a sturdy deficit. And once the fifth came and the Astros leaped on Castillo, the Rays needed that jolt. Snell exited after yielding a leadoff walk and a slow-rolling single. He used 82 pitches to record just 12 outs. Then Castillo, the guy Cash taps when the pressure spikes, was thrust into a two-on, no-outs jam.

One run would have been a small victory for Tampa Bay. Houston scored four.

“I felt like the most pivotal moment of the game was right there in the fifth inning when they got to first and second on us,” Cash said of hooking Snell, a former Cy Young Award winner, for Castillo. “At that time, I felt like Diego was the right guy to come in there and calm that situation down.”

“It’s one of those things where the situation dictated it,” Zunino added of the move. “It just didn’t work out in our favor.”

“I was confused for sure,” added Snell, acknowledging that he always wants the ball. “But that’s what he thought the best call and decision was.”

Maldonado, the Astros’ catcher, greeted Castillo with a well-placed sacrifice bunt. It appeared like a dinosaur crashing a match-up of two teams that have spearheaded the sport’s analytics movement. Yet it put runners on second and third with one out, and the Rays shifted three infielders to the left side of second base. If Springer pulled a grounder, they were primed to keep Yuli Gurriel on third. If he went the other way — if Castillo missed the



JAE C. HONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Astros’ Carlos Correa, here doubling in the seventh inning, singled in a run during a four-run fifth that turned the tide against the Rays.



HARRY HOW/GETTY IMAGES

Tampa Bay’s Mike Zunino breaks his bat after striking out in the bottom of a frustrating fifth inning.

low-and-inside target from Zunino — then the Rays were beaten.

So the dam broke with a back-firing plan: Castillo put a sinker on the outer half, and Springer stayed on it and poked a single where a second baseman typically plays. Two runs scored. The As-

tros took a lead they never lost. Altuve followed with an RBI double into the left field corner. Then, after Castillo walked Michael Brantley, Correa capped the rally with a run-scoring hit to left.

Castillo entered the postseason with a 1.66 ERA in 21½ innings. He

entered this game with a 0.00 ERA in the postseason. In that same vein, the Rays’ bullpen had yet to allow an inherited runner to score in the playoffs. Each statistic favored Cash turning to Castillo in that moment. That just can’t always account for

how the other side will fare.

Because that offense Cash described — unrelenting, unfazed, showing pressure on the opponent — is what the Astros have right now. It’s what happens when Springer, Altuve, Brantley, Correa and Alex Bregman are the first five hitters of an order. That’s what the reeling Rays are up against.

“Their lineup is fully capable of having crooked-number innings, and that’s what took place,” Cash said. “It’s not an ideal feeling. It certainly didn’t feel good.”

Valdez, to his credit, was the pitcher Baker hoped for. He got 15 swings and misses with his curveball. He threw it 52 times while holding the Rays to three hits. A fifth-inning strikeout had Zunino snapping his bat over his knee. In the sixth, after Kyle Tucker homered off Rays rookie Shane Bieber, Yandy Díaz and Valdez exchanged shouts after Valdez walked him and asked to appeal a checked swing.

The umpires and Correa stepped between them. The drama came and went. Valdez soon induced a rally-killing double play, yelled and glanced over his shoulder at Díaz. The Rays, in that moment, looked a few shades past frustrated. The Astros were in control.

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GOLF ROUNDUP

With a run of birdies, Schauffele takes CJ Cup lead

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Xander Schauffele began his second round by missing a four-foot birdie putt. That was hardly a sign of what was to follow Friday in the CJ Cup at Shadow Creek in North Las Vegas, Nev.

Schauffele made putts as short as three feet and as long as 35 feet. He chipped in from 20 feet. He seemingly couldn't miss during a two-hour stretch when he made seven birdies over eight holes, including six in a row, for a career-best 29 on the back nine.

His momentum slowed with the pace of play, and he settled for an 8-under-par 64 for a three-shot lead over Tyrrell Hatton.

"Some of those holes, you're not really trying to birdie them. You're just trying to leave yourself an uphill 35-footer. And fortunately, I made a couple of them," Schauffele said. "It was a nice stretch. Got a little bit stale there on the other side. Pace of play slowed down a lot, kind of hot, easy to let the mind wander.

"Upset I didn't make more birdies, but pleased I didn't make any bogeys."

He was at 14-under-130 and now has the course record at Shadow Creek, which is hosting the CJ Cup for this year only because the novel coronavirus pandemic made travel to South Korea impractical.

Hatton, among six players who were in England last week for the European Tour's flagship event, was headed for a rocky finish when he laid up into the rough on the par-5 16th that led to a second straight bogey. He rallied to close with a pair of birdies for a 68.

Russell Henley (68) was another shot back at 10-under-134.

Defending champion Justin Thomas found some momentum with six birdies — despite missing two easy chances on par-5s — for a 66 and was eight shots behind at the halfway point.

"I guess I played my way somewhat back into it," he said before turning to look at the scores on a nearby monitor. "But Xander kind of went off today, so that makes it a

little harder."

It wasn't just Schauffele making birdies.

He played alongside PGA champion Collin Morikawa, who shot a 65, and Viktor Hovland, who had a 66. They were a combined 21-under par, with a better-ball score of 59.

• **EUROPEAN TOUR:** English golfer Matt Wallace carded a 5-under 67 at Fairmont St Andrews to join Adrian Otaegui in the Scottish Championship lead in Fife.

Wallace took advantage of favorable morning conditions by making six birdies and a bogey to reach 12 under.

He went into the clubhouse with a two-shot lead, but overnight leader Otaegui fought hard in his afternoon round, improving his fortunes on his back nine. There, the Spaniard made four birdies and a bogey to follow up his opening round of 62 with a 70.

Aaron Rai, the winner of the Scottish Open two weeks ago, made two eagles in his first six holes and was one shot back.

• PGA TOUR CHAMPIONS:

The first round of the Dominion Energy Charity Classic in Richmond was postponed because of rain.

The 54-hole tournament at the Country Club of Virginia was to be Phil Mickelson's second start on the tour. He won his debut on the over-50 tour at Ozarks National in August.

The tour planned to send players off from split tees Saturday morning, and the second round was set to begin Saturday afternoon, with the goal of completing the tournament Sunday.

Houston Open to allow fans

The Houston Open will allow limited spectators next month at Memorial Park, the first domestic PGA Tour event to have fans since the pandemic shut down golf for three months March 13.

The tour said 2,000 tickets will go on sale Wednesday through the tournament's website.

The Houston Open is Nov. 5-8, one week before the Masters.



CHASE STEVENS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Xander Schauffele made seven birdies over eight holes Friday in the CJ Cup at Shadow Creek to shoot a career-best 29 on the back nine.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

MLB playoffs

NATIONAL LEAGUE DIVISION SERIES

Best of five

DODGERS ELIMINATED PADRES, 3-0

In Arlington, Tex.

Game 1: Los Angeles 5, San Diego 1
Game 2: Los Angeles 6, San Diego 5
Game 3: Los Angeles 12, San Diego 3

BRAVES ELIMINATED MARLINS, 3-0

In Houston

Game 1: Atlanta 9, Miami 5
Game 2: Atlanta 2, Miami 0
Game 3: Atlanta 7, Miami 0

AMERICAN LEAGUE DIVISION SERIES

Best of five

RAYS ELIMINATED YANKEES, 3-2

In San Diego

Game 1: New York 9, Tampa Bay 3
Game 2: Tampa Bay 7, New York 5
Game 3: Los Angeles 15, New York 4
Game 4: New York 5, Tampa Bay 1
Game 5: Tampa Bay 2, New York 1

ASTROS ELIMINATED ATHLETICS, 3-1

In Los Angeles

Game 1: Houston 10, Oakland 5
Game 2: Houston 5, Oakland 2
Game 3: Oakland 9, Houston 7
Game 4: Houston 11, Oakland 6

NATIONAL LEAGUE CHAMPIONSHIP SERIES

Best of seven; x-If necessary

BRAVES LEAD DODGERS, 3-1

In Arlington, Tex.

Game 1: Atlanta 5, Los Angeles 1
Game 2: Atlanta 8, Los Angeles 7
Game 3: Los Angeles 15, Atlanta 3
Game 4: Atlanta 10, Los Angeles 2
Game 5: Los Angeles vs. Atlanta, Late
x-Saturday: Atlanta vs. Los Angeles, 4:38 (FS1)

x-Sunday: Atlanta vs. Los Angeles, 8:15 (Fox & FS1)

AMERICAN LEAGUE CHAMPIONSHIP SERIES

Best of seven; x-If necessary

RAYS AND ASTROS TIED, 3-3

In San Diego

Game 1: Tampa Bay 2, Houston 1
Game 2: Tampa Bay 4, Houston 2
Game 3: Tampa Bay 5, Houston 2
Game 4: Houston 4, Tampa Bay 3
Game 5: Houston 4, Tampa Bay 3
Game 6: Houston 7, Tampa Bay 4
x-Saturday: Houston vs. Tampa Bay, 8:37 (TBS)

WORLD SERIES

In Arlington, Tex.

Best of seven; x-If necessary

Tuesday

Wednesday

Friday, Oct. 23

Saturday, Oct. 24

x-Sunday, Oct. 25

x-Tuesday, Oct. 27

x-Wednesday, Oct. 28

Today's NL game

BRAVES VS. DODGERS, 4:38 (IF NECESSARY)

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
TBD	—	—	—
TBD	—	—	—

Today's AL game

ASTROS VS. RAYS, 8:37

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
McCullers Jr. (R)	0-1	4.09	1-1
Morton (R)	2-0	0.90	2-0

SOCCER

MLS

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Atlanta FC	11	2	5	38	29	17
Philadelphia	10	3	5	35	32	16
Columbus	9	4	4	31	27	18
Orlando City	8	2	7	31	29	17
New England	7	4	7	28	20	16
New York City FC	8	7	3	27	23	16
New York	7	8	3	24	21	22
Nashville SC	6	6	21	15	17	17
Montreal	6	10	2	20	27	35
Chicago	5	8	4	19	22	26
Atlanta	5	9	4	19	18	21
Inter Miami CF	5	10	3	18	18	28
Cincinnati	4	10	4	16	10	28
D.C. United	2	10	6	12	15	32

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Seattle	9	4	3	30	35	17
Portland	9	5	3	30	37	29
Portland	9	5	3	30	37	29
Los Angeles FC	7	7	3	24	39	33
FC Dallas	6	4	6	24	22	17
Minnesota United	6	5	5	23	26	21
San Jose	6	7	5	23	28	43
Vancouver	7	6	21	22	39	39
Real Salt Lake	5	7	6	21	24	30
Colorado	5	4	7	19	25	20
Houston	4	7	7	19	25	30
LA Galaxy	4	9	3	15	21	34

SATURDAY'S MATCHES

Sporting KC at Chicago, 3:30

Inter Miami CF at Montreal, 7

SUNDAY'S MATCHES

D.C. United at Cincinnati, 7:30

New York City FC at Columbus, 6

Orlando City at New York, 7

Atlanta at Toronto FC, 7:30

Houston at Minnesota, 8

Los Angeles FC at Portland, 10

Vancouver at LA Galaxy, 10:30

Seattle at San Jose, 10:30

Real Salt Lake at Colorado, p.p.d.

NWSL

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Portland	3	0	1	10	10	3
Washington	3	1	0	9	12	7
Seattle	2	2	0	6	6	7
Chicago	1	2	1	4	4	7
North Carolina	1	1	1	4	5	7
Utah	0	2	2	3	6	8
Orlando	0	2	1	1	7	5
Reign FC	0	2	1	1	4	6

SATURDAY'S MATCHES

North Carolina at Orlando, 4

Utah at Reign FC, 8

PRO FOOTBALL

NFL

NFC

	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Dallas	2	3	0	.400	163	180
Philadelphia	1	3	1	.300	113	145
Washington	1	4	0	.200	89	142
N.Y. Giants	0	5	0	.000	81	133

	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Carolina	3	2	0	.600	122	118
New Orleans	3	2	0	.600	153	150
Tampa Bay	3	2	0	.600	139	112
Atlanta	0	5	0	.000	122	161

	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Green Bay	4	0	1	1.000	152	101
Chicago	4	1	0	.800	105	100
Detroit	1	3	0	.250	99	127
Minnesota	1	4	0	.200	132	152

	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Seattle	5	0	1	1.000	169	135
L.A. Rams	4	1	0	.800	136	90
Arizona	3	2	0	.600	128	102
San Francisco	2	3	0	.400	124	114

AFC

	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Buffalo	4	1	0	.800	133	142
New England	2	0	0	.500	97	92
Miami	2	3	0	.400	136	113
N.Y. Jets	0	5	0	.000	75	161

	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Tennessee	4	0	0	1.000	122	90
Indianapolis	2	0	0	.500	97	92
Houston	1	4	0	.200	110	140
Jacksonville	1	4	0	.200	109	147

	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Pittsburgh	4	0	0	1.000	118	87
Baltimore	4	1	0	.800	149	76
Cleveland	4	1	0	.800	156	149
Cincinnati	1	3	1	.300	102	126

	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Kansas City	4	1	0	.800	149	110
Las Vegas	3	2	0	.600	151	152
Denver	1	3	0	.250	82	98
L.A. Chargers	1	4	0	.200	110	125

WEEK 6

SUNDAY'S MATCHES

Washington at N.Y. Giants (-2½), 1
Baltimore (+7½) at Philadelphia, 1
Houston at Tennessee (-3), 1
Cincinnati at Indianapolis (-8), 1
Atlanta at Minnesota (-4), 1
Chicago at Carolina (-1½), 1
Detroit (-3) at Jacksonville, 1
Cleveland at Pittsburgh (-3½), 1
Denver at New England (-9½), 1
Pollock ph-If.....2 0 0 0 0 0 200
Rellingier cf.....3 0 0 0 1 1 188
Rios ds.....1 1 2 0 0 0 250
Hernandez 2b.....2 0 0 0 1 1 333
Beatty ph-1b.....0 0 0 0 1 0 ---
Barnes c.....2 0 0 0 0 0 000
Smith ph-c.....1 0 0 0 0 0 125
TOTALS 29 3 10 14 10 3 8 ---

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
TBD	—	—	—
TBD	—	—	—

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
TBD	—	—	—
TBD	—	—	—

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
TBD	—	—	—
TBD	—	—	—

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
TBD	—	—	—
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	W-L	ERA	TEAM
TBD	—	—	—
TBD	—	—	—

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TBD	—	—	—
TBD	—	—	—

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
TBD	—	—	—
TBD	—	—	—

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
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TBD	—	—	—

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TBD	—	—	—

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TBD	—	—	—

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TBD	—	—	—

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
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TBD	—	—	—

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
TBD	—	—	—
TBD	—	—	—

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
TBD	—	—	—
TBD	—	—	—

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
TBD	—	—	—
TBD	—	—	—

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

NCAA

WEDNESDAY'S RESULT

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815 **Legal Notices**

NOTICE TO CREDITORS BY LIQUIDATING RECEIVER
Gray & Associates, LLC, Liquidating Receiver for CVC USA Corporation
401 Headquarters Drive, Suite 205
Millersville, MD 21108

TO ALL PERSONS INTERESTED IN THE RECEIVERSHIP ESTATE OF CVC USA CORPORATION, THE RECEIVERSHIP DEBTOR.

Notice is given that with respect to CVC USA CORPORATION, which has a business address of 12800 Bay Hill Dr, Beltsville, Maryland 20705, and is in the business of operating a golf and social club at that address, that the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Maryland, in the case styled *Woor America Bank and Cross Creek Club Homeowners Association, Inc. v. CVC USA Corporation* (Civil No. 454640-17) has appointed Gray & Associates, LLC, which has a business address of 401 Headquarters Drive, Suite 205, Millersville, MD 21108, as Liquidating Receiver for CVC USA Corporation.

All persons having claims against for CVC USA Corporation should file them, under oath, with the Clerk of the Circuit Court and the Liquidating Receiver at the addresses below not later than 120 days from the date this Notice was issued.

Gray & Associates, LLC
401 Headquarters Drive, Suite 205
Millersville, Maryland 21108

Clerk of the Court
Circuit Court for
Montgomery County
50 Maryland Avenue
Rockville, Maryland 20850

Unless the court orders otherwise, a claim that is not submitted within the appropriate time period is not entitled to a distribution from the receivership property. A claim submitted by a creditor under this section shall:
(1) State the name and address of the creditor;
(2) State the amount and basis of the creditor's claim;
(3) Identify any property securing the creditor's claim;
(4) Be signed by the creditor under penalty of perjury; and
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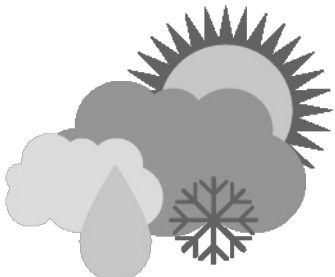
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REAL ESTATE

SUBURBAN NEWCOMERS

City dwellers in the pandemic
explore moves to smaller
towns for more space. 12



STUART ISETT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Where We Live Petworth

In NW D.C., affordability, diversity and ‘the desire to be helpful’

Residents cite a strong spirit of community in a historic neighborhood that has reflected the city’s racial shifts over the decades

BY NINA ZAFAR

Linda Crichlow White was an infant when her parents bought a house in the 500 block of Randolph Street in the Northwest Washington neighborhood of Petworth in 1948. The Whites, who came from nearby LeDroit Park, wanted their daughter to grow up with more space to play.

They were one of the first Black families on their block, moving into an area where restrictive covenants against Black homeownership had just been lifted that year.

Though they were moving into a predominantly White neighborhood, Crichlow White says the community feel in Petworth was apparent from the start.

“We all ran up and down the street together, the children. The people on our block were very nice. The daughters of the family next door would babysit me, and their mother would take me along to see their performances at school.”

Petworth is one of the city’s largest neighborhoods. Its name derives from an estate owned by John Tayloe III, a plantation owner and military officer who died in 1828. The estate was sold by his heirs for development, combined with other land and subdivided in 1887 to create the neighborhood.

The demographic flipped from majority-White to majority-Black by the mid-1950s and remained that way until the early 2000s. Petworth attracted a wave of new residents after Metro service was extended to the neighborhood in 1999.

Today, it’s one of the most diverse neighborhoods in the city, with residents of varying ages, races and socioeconomic backgrounds. Petworth homes are comparatively more affordable than nearby areas, while boasting a residential feel with backyards, an active front-porch culture and a bustling commercial district on Upshur Street.

Family business: Matt Krimm co-owns Cinder BBQ, one of several restaurants on the Upshur strip that have made Petworth a dining destination in the city. He says Cinder has become a neighborhood spot in the year since it’s opened, but the coronavirus pandemic has reinforced that feeling.

“When covid hit and we were forced to close, the neighborhood came out in droves and



PHOTOS BY AMANDA ANDRADE-RHOADES FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

FROM TOP: Rowhouses near Sherman Circle in Petworth. Jeremy Foster with his 1-year-old son Wren at the Powell Elementary School playground. Inaam Avant pitches in a softball game at the Upshur Recreation Center. Among Petworth’s community events are a weekly community market and the Petworth Jazz Project, which showcases local jazz talent in monthly shows.

“It’s a family neighborhood, so that drives that sense of community and support.”

Matt Krimm, co-owner of Cinder BBQ on the Upshur commercial strip



supported us. It’s a family neighborhood, so that drives that sense of community and support. People know us and each other because they’re out walking their dogs and with their kids and you start to see familiar faces,” Krimm says.

It’s the residents’ investment in their community that makes Petworth a great place to live. The resident-run Petworth community market at Ninth and Upshur streets happens every Saturday from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. from May through November. In addition to vendors, the market hosts musicians, artists and local organizations throughout the season.

The Petworth Jazz Project showcases the best in local jazz talent, with shows typically taking place on the last Saturday of the month in May through September. Residents also organize a free neighborhood festival every September, Celebrate Petworth, which highlights the creativity and diversity of the neighborhood through music, storytelling, food and kids’ activities (both the Jazz Project and Celebrate Petworth were canceled this year due to the pandemic). The neighborhood even has its own local news blog, Petworth News, run by Drew Schneider, which has garnered a following upward of 34,000 readers a month.

President Abraham Lincoln’s former summer home still sits at the eastern edge of Petworth — it was his retreat from 1862 to 1864, at the height of the Civil

War, and where he wrote the Emancipation Proclamation. It now operates as a private museum and nonprofit organization on the grounds of the Armed Forces Retirement Home, which sponsors local events with a dedicated group of volunteers, Friends of the Soldiers Home.

Residents say they feel lucky to live in such an inclusive and supportive community.

“It’s the neighbors that make it a neighborhood. The diversity of thought, the positivity, the desire to be helpful is really strong in Petworth,” says Schneider, who moved to the area from Dupont Circle 15 years ago.

“It’s why I’ve stayed here. I like the people I live around. It’s like when you work at a job and the people you work with have a major impact on your enjoyment. You feel raised up by those people. Of course, there’s amenities — the restaurants, the shopping, walking to a supermarket — that’s all great. That’s city living and I had that in Dupont, but I left it because I didn’t have a sense of community. Here I have that and it’s the most striking feature for me.”

Living there: Petworth is roughly bounded by Arkansas Avenue on the west, Spring Road and Rock Creek Park on the south, Rock Creek Park and New Hampshire Avenue on the east and Hamilton Street to the north.

According to Long & Foster agent John Coplen, 58 homes have sold in Petworth in the past six months, ranging from a two-bedroom, one-bathroom townhouse for \$300,000 to a six-bedroom, 4½-bathroom rowhouse that sold for just over \$1.3 million.

There are 44 homes for sale, ranging from a one-bedroom, one-bathroom condo for \$295,000 to a free-standing four-bedroom, two-bathroom home listed at almost \$1.8 million.

Schools: Barnard and Powell elementary, MacFarland Middle School and Roosevelt High School.

Transit: The Georgia Avenue-Petworth Metro Station is at the southern tip of the neighborhood, on the Green and Yellow lines. Several bus routes also serve the area. The neighborhood is intersected by two major thoroughfares, New Hampshire and Georgia avenues, which provide easy access to other areas of the city.

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Quiet living near Baltimore airport, shopping

BY SCOTT SOWERS

Home buyers looking for a new community near Baltimore-Washington International Marshall Airport, with shopping options provided by Arundel Mills, might want to take a look at the Ridge, a new enclave of townhouses being built by Beazer Homes.

The community is less than five miles from BWI and three miles north of the mall, which is next to the Maryland Live casino.

The Ridge has been under construction since July with 210 houses scheduled to be built. Of those, 24 have already been sold, 12 are finished and 11 are under construction. Although transit options abound near the community in terms of rail, air and auto, Chance Hall, vice president of sales at Beazer, said buyers in the community like that it is “quietly tucked away yet still convenient to many dining, shopping and entertainment options.”

The community is designed to be kid-friendly as it will offer two “tot-lot” play areas, one of which is already complete. Open space and walking trails are also planned with access to the 12½-mile BWI bike trail that encircles the airport and Patapsco Valley State Park. The community boasts wooded homesites overlooking areas of mature trees.

Personalization: The new Beazer development provides a number of options for its townhouses, starting with a choice of exterior facades that includes brick, stone and layouts built around a bay window. Out back, customers can add a deck to expand entertainment possibilities. Garages come standard with all the townhouses and buyers can swap garage space for a back-

THE RIDGE

1904 Red Jasper Rd., Hanover, Md.

A total of 210 townhouses are scheduled to be built. Since the community opened in July, 12 have been completed, 11 are under construction and 24 have been sold. Prices range from \$399,990 for a three-story, 1,863-square-foot townhouse to \$440,990 for a three-story, 2,189-square-foot townhouse.

Builder: Beazer

Features: Dual media electrical outlets are provided in the family room, bedrooms and office. Kitchens feature maple wall cabinets, granite countertops, stainless-steel appliances and LED lighting. Bathrooms offer dual-bowl vanities, quartz vanity tops, ceramic tile flooring and tub surround. Owner’s suites have a walk-in closet and ventilated shelving. All the residences include finished basements. Fourth-floor lofts and roof decks can also be added as options.

Bedrooms/bathrooms: 3 to 4/3 to 5

Square footage: 1,863 to 2,213

Contact: The model home can be viewed Monday through Sunday, 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. Call 410-630-6996 for more information. No appointment is necessary, but a limited number of people are allowed in the model at one time.



PHOTOS BY HOMEVISIT



TOP: In the Ridge, the Potomac floor plan features a gourmet kitchen with a center island and a large peninsula. **LEFT:** The development offers exteriors with brick, stone and siding. Owners can personalize their houses in many ways.

yard.

“Two-car garage townhomes do not cost more,” Hall said. “For some, a two-car garage is a must. However, other home buyers prefer a backyard.” All the townhouses include finished basements/lower level. Fourth-floor lofts and roof decks can also be added for additional expense.

Floor plan choices provide buyers with more ways to personalize their space.

“All townhomes at the Ridge offer three bedrooms and 2½ bathrooms on three finished levels,” Hall said. “Customers can choose floor plans with as many as four

bedrooms and three full bathrooms with two half bathrooms.” Kitchens are available with islands or configured for eating in, which leaves space for a dining table.

Even though the community is fairly new, Hall is already figuring out that buyers are attracted to flexibility. “Buyers love the open layouts of the floor plans,” he said. “They love the ability to personalize their home by choosing from two different kitchen and primary bath options at no additional cost. Customers can personalize their home at our state-of-the-art design studio where they can pick and choose

upgrades, colors and other options to make their home uniquely theirs.”

Schools: North County High, Lindale Middle and Linthicum Elementary.

Transit: The Ridge is bordered by the Baltimore-Washington Parkway and Route 195 accessed via Ridge Road. The community is less than five miles from BWI. It’s less than two miles from the BWI-RAC Shuttle Service that provides access to rental cars. The Ridge is about three miles from the BWI Airport Rail Station, which is served by Amtrak and MARC trains.

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Mortgage Rates

Another record low for 30-year rate is good economic news

BY MICHELE LERNER

The rate on the popular 30-year mortgage hit a record low, according to a Freddie Mac survey released Thursday, providing a bright spot in the economy by continuing to offer consumers more incentive to buy a home.

The average for a 30-year fixed-rate mortgage dropped to 2.81 percent from 2.87 percent with an average 0.6 point. (A point is a fee borrowers pay, usually 1 percent of the loan, to get a better rate.) The average rate, the lowest since Freddie Mac began conducting the survey in 1971, is well below the 3.69 percent level a year ago.

The 15-year fixed-rate average slid to 2.35 percent from 2.37 percent, with an average 0.5 point. The five-year adjustable-rate average of 2.90 percent, with an average 0.2 point, was up from the 2.89 percent of the previous week. The 15-year rate was 3.15 percent and the five-year was 3.35 percent a year ago.

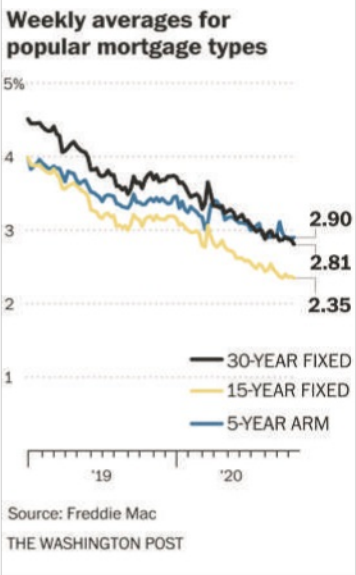
"I'm actually surprised by this good news for buyers that mortgage rates dropped even further this week. I thought we had hit the low-

est possible rate before," said Lawrence Yun, chief economist for the National Association of Realtors.

"Investors are perceiving mortgages as a safe investment, as safe as U.S. bonds," he said. "Investors see little risk in the housing market and in investing in mortgages."

Mortgage rates have been at historically low levels since March, when the Federal Reserve started purchasing mortgage-backed securities (MBSs), bundled mortgages sold to investors. The action was meant to provide more credit in the market and has resulted in a three-quarters of a percent drop since spring. The Fed has said it would keep that policy in place at least until 2023, almost guaranteeing that rates will remain low for the long-term.

"Low mortgage rates have become a regular occurrence in the current environment," Sam Khater, Freddie Mac's chief economist, said in a statement. "As we hit yet another record low, the tenth record this year, many people are benefiting as refinance activity remains strong. However, it's important to remember that not all people are



able to take advantage of low rates given the effects of the pandemic."

For borrowers, the difference in the 30-year fixed-rate this week compared with this same time last year is a savings of as much as \$190 per month on a \$400,000 loan.

"One negative of these low rates for buyers is that they are contributing to rising home prices," Yun

said. "One solution for buyers looking for affordability is to move farther away from the city where they can find lower prices and still benefit from lower rates. That's easier for people who can work from home and don't need to commute."

The averages are generated from Freddie Mac's Primary Mortgage Market Survey, which gauges the rates that about 80 lenders nationwide offer buyers between Monday and Wednesday every week. The survey covers rates on conventional home loans for borrowers who make a 20 percent down payment and have excellent credit.

Rates are largely determined by investors in mortgage bonds responding to a range of factors, including Federal Reserve policies, the stock market and the yield on 10-year Treasury notes, as well as uncertainty about the November election and the coronavirus. Lenders also factor in the volume of applications they receive a given week, fees they are charged by Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, and a borrower's credit score.

"Lenders can have flexibility on their rates and use their own dis-

cretion to adjust for risk, expense, or a conscious decision to be more or less price aggressive in the marketplace," Nicholas LaClair, a pricing analyst and head of the lock desk at Embrace Home Loans in Portsmouth, R.I., said in an email.

Meanwhile, the number of people seeking mortgages dropped slightly last week, according to the Mortgage Bankers Association.

The market composite index, which measures the total number of applications, fell 0.3 percent. The purchase index decreased 1 percent but was 24 percent higher than a year ago. The refinance index fell 0.3 percent from a week earlier and was 44 percent higher than a year ago.

"Refinance and purchase activity continue to run well ahead of last year's pace, fueled by record-low rates and strong homebuyer demand," Joel Kan, the association's associate vice president of economic and industry forecasting, said in a statement. "Housing supply is a challenge for many aspiring buyers, but activity should continue to stay strong the rest of the year."

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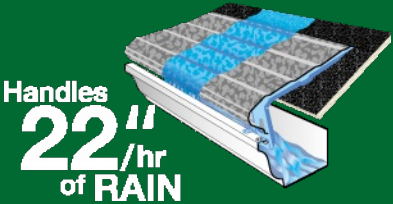
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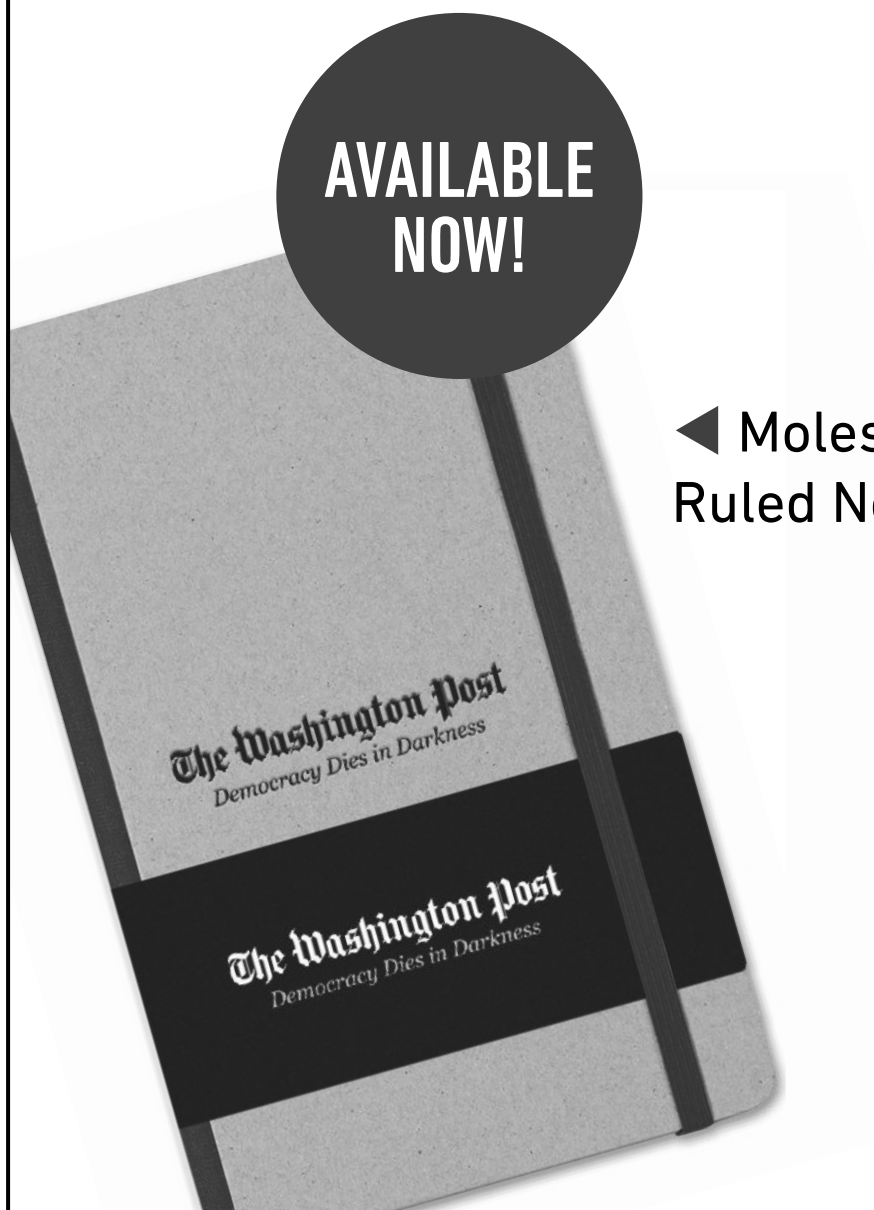
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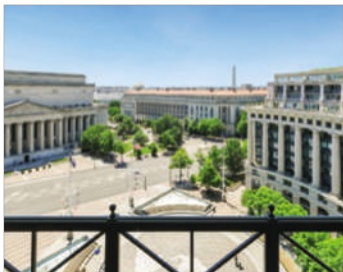
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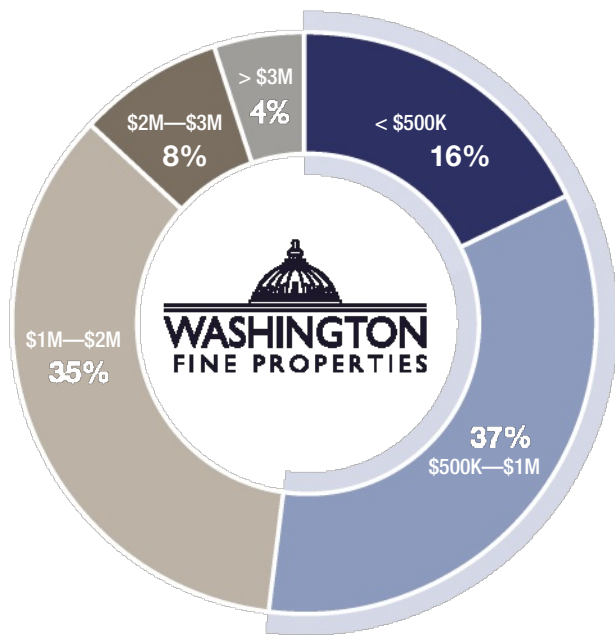


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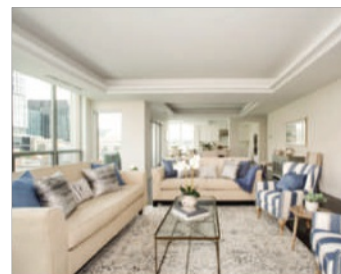
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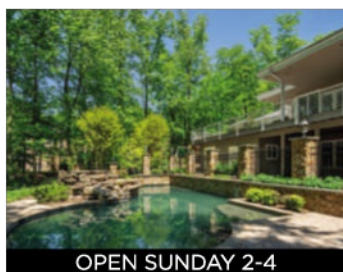
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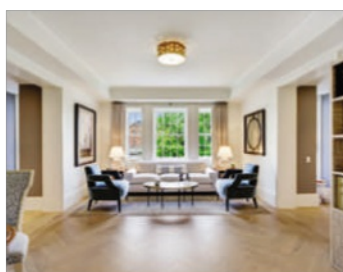
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\$3M+	117	150	↑ 28%
\$4M+	38	48	↑ 26%
\$5M+	14	27	↑ 93%

Source: Bright MLS, Contracts 1/1/2019 - 10/13/2019 and 1/1/2020 - 10/13/2020



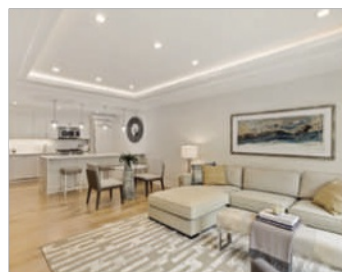
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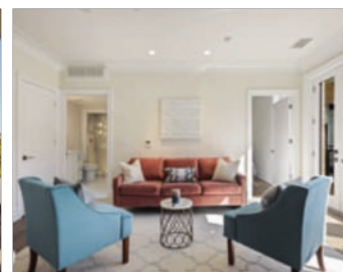
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House of the Week

All set for more fun times, friendly gatherings

BY MICHELE LERNER

All it took for the buyer of one Bradley Hills estate to choose her new home was a step into the foyer.

“My client’s husband was in Canada on business, and when she walked into the foyer of the house on Goldsboro, she said, ‘This is it,’” said Muffin Lynham, a real estate agent with Washington Fine Properties. “She left a check for a good-faith deposit and a note for the sellers explaining that she would FedEx the contract for her husband to sign. This was in 1998, before we all had DocuSign.”

The house at 5321 Goldsboro Rd. in Bethesda matched every priority for the buyers back in 1998, including a location with an easy trip to downtown D.C. and Reagan National Airport, plus plenty of space for the young family to play outside and indoors.

For 22 years, the property has been a Bradley Hills “it” house for friendly gatherings of young people and adults, Lynham said. Now that their children are finishing college and grad school, the owners are ready to turn it over to another family to enjoy.

“They really shared this house with the entire community,” Lynham said. “They’re philanthropic and offered their home constantly for fundraisers for their children’s schools and other nonprofit groups, for political fundraisers for both sides of the aisle, for book-signing parties and for their children’s sports teams to gather.”

The 1.11-acre lot has space for a full-size tent for large fundraisers, and the grounds include a swimming pool, outdoor heaters, professional landscaping and lighting, and a pavilion with a fireplace. Bridal showers and graduation lunches have been held poolside, Lynham said.

In 2017, the owners decided that the house, which was built in 1992, needed renovation, Lynham said.

“They hired the ‘dream team’ of Jim Gibson of Gibson Builders, whose homes are legendary in this area, Ankie Barnes of BarnesVanz Architects, and Guy Morgan from DCA Landscape Architects,” Lynham said. “They moved out of the house for a complete top-to-bottom renovation, including the kitchen and every bathroom, and brought the house to 21st-century standards with smart electronics.”

The house has a plaque that identifies this project as Gibson’s last renovation before he died in December 2017.

The renovation created additional spaces for entertaining in the 10,338-square-foot house. On



PHOTOS BY JOE HODGSON/HOME SIGHT 2

ABOVE: The house at 5321 Goldsboro Rd. in Bethesda had a major renovation in 2017. BELOW: The swimming pool and pavilion.



5321 GOLDSBORO RD., BETHESDA

\$5.95 million

Features: The house has three finished levels with six bedrooms, nine bathrooms, three fireplaces and extensive spaces for entertaining, including a first-floor theater room, a two-story family room, a formal living room and a formal dining room. The lower level includes a wine-tasting room, a wine cellar, a bar, a lounge, a billiards room and a sitting room. The grounds include a swimming pool, a pavilion, space for a full-size tent for entertaining, and a three-car garage with a catering kitchen.

Square-footage: Approximately 10,340.

Lot size: 1.11 acres

Listing agent: Muffin Lynham, Washington Fine Properties

the first floor, an expansive theater room provides a venue for Super Bowl and New Year’s Eve parties and election night gatherings. The main level also has a formal living room with a fireplace, a formal dining room, a study and a two-story family room that overlooks the pool. A bar is between the family room and the theater room.

In addition to a breakfast room and the kitchen, both of which

overlook the pool, the main level has a catering kitchen built into the three-car garage, a mudroom, a full bathroom for pool guests and a powder room.

The lower level showcases the house’s “365 days of fun” atmosphere, Lynham said.

“The owners kept this exquisite Bavarian-inspired bar that the original owners designed,” Lynham said. “They added a club-room next to the wine cellar, and

there are fun places for all ages like the billiard room, a TV room and a wine-tasting room.”

The pool pavilion includes a weatherproof TV for enjoying sports events outside.

For long-term guests, there’s a bedroom suite on the upper floor with a wet bar and a refrigerator, a desk built into a bay window and a sitting area. Space above the garage can function as an in-law or guest suite or a home office.

The 2017 renovation transformed the interior of the house with a neutral palette and his-and-hers bathrooms in the primary suite.

“Part of the gentleman’s dressing room can be locked off as a secure room in an emergency,” Lynham said.

Other upgrades include a whole-house generator and 15 security cameras.

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Market Insight

Resilient D.C.-area housing industry exhibits robust sales

BY JON COILE

After a temporary pause in the spring from the coronavirus pandemic, the housing market nationwide is in particularly good shape because demand remains high and mortgage rates are phenomenally low. The housing shortage will keep competition heated and prices firm.

The Washington region, widely regarded as a recession-resistant economy, thanks to jobs tied to the federal government and the tech industry, has seen a strong resurgence since May.

Spring market converted to summer market

The housing market, particularly in the Washington, D.C., region, was on track for a robust spring. In the first half of March, before the stay-at-home guidelines kicked in, homes were selling fast, and the median sales price for the month reached a 10-year high of \$490,000. More than half of all homes sold in the region were snapped up in one to 10 days.

Even in April, as concern about the novel coronavirus grew, regional home prices were up to a 10-year high for the month, at \$507,000, which was also an increase of 6.7 percent over the median sales price in April 2019. Homes were selling for the full asking price or more.

But in April, pending sales declined and new listings dropped significantly as sellers opted to hold back their listings.

Pending sales refer to homes that are under contract that have yet to go to settlement and will typically show up as sold within 30 to 60 days.

Real estate agents, buyers and sellers began to embrace virtual tours and adapt to individualized virtual visits via FaceTime, Skype and Google Hangouts.

May's regional market report showed signs of a rebound, with pending sales up and new listings up from April's lows.

Prices continued to rise in the region, too. June's market report showed similar improvements in the regional housing market.

July's report showcased more

improvement in the regional market, with the number of pending sales up 12 percent, compared with July 2019. Median sales prices continued to rise to \$530,000, up 13 percent, compared with July 2019 and up 5 percent over June 2020.

Homes sold in July in a median of eight days, which was faster than in June and than in July 2019.

The number of sales leaped much higher in July, nearly 17 percent above June's closed sales and 6.8 percent higher than in July 2019.

August saw sales continue to grow, up 12 percent from the prior year. Homes stayed on the market for only a week, as the median sales price rose 11 percent. The limited housing supply continued to shrink, with total active listings down 27 percent.

Nationally, homeownership was up to 65.3 percent of the population during the first quarter of 2020, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, an increase of 1.1 percent, compared with the first quarter of 2019. That means there

were 2.7 million more homeowners during the first quarter of 2020, compared with the first quarter of 2019.

Early fall optimism

The limited number of homes for sale continues to plague markets regionally and locally, with the inventory of homes on the market in this region at a 10-year low in June.

For some buyers, trying to find the right house to purchase this summer has felt a lot like trying to find toilet paper in the spring.

The good news is that, while houses are selling faster than new listings are coming on the market — which decreases the number of homes for sale in the regional inventory — new listings coming on the multiple-listing service in June in the D.C. region rose 16 percent, compared with new listings in May, a promising sign that more sellers are entering the market.

Naturally, the wave of unemployment claims worries lenders. Most lenders immediately tightened their credit standards to

require at least a 640 FICO score or higher, required more evidence of cash reserves and instituted multiple rechecks of employment status.

Jumbo loans for high-cost homes became less readily available. These changes limit the ability of many prospective home buyers to finance their purchase.

But the D.C. region appears to be more resilient than other major cities.

The unemployment rate was 8.6 percent in the District in June, compared with 20.4 percent in New York City and 19.5 percent in Los Angeles.

The optimism in the real estate industry in the D.C. region is generated by data that demonstrates a resilient economy ready to benefit from low mortgage rates and to overcome the obstacles created by the virus.

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Jon Coile, chairman of Rockville-based multiple-listing service Bright MLS (formerly MRIS), writes occasional commentary on the Washington-area housing market.

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STUART ISETT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

COVER STORY

Choosing the suburbs over city life during the pandemic

BY MICHELE LERNER

For Scott and Cindy Anderson and their two children, virtual school and remote work provided an opportunity to make a big move from San Jose to Gig Harbor in Washington state. “We have lots of family in Washington [state], including my parents, two brothers and my oldest nephew and their families, so we had talked for a couple of years about moving there,” says Scott, 42, who works for Blue Lava, a cybersecurity firm in Silicon Valley. “When my office went 100 percent remote and the kids’ school went virtual, it was an opportunity for us to explore moving.”

The Andersons’ children were each about to change schools, one going to middle school and the other to high school, so that also seemed to line up as a better time

to move than once they were settled into their next schools, Scott says. “The pandemic pulled everyone out of their immediate fear about being uprooted because we were already uprooted by remote work and school,” says Scott. “We’re leaving a community we love but we’re excited to settle into the new place.”

The Andersons are part of a growing movement of city dwellers moving to suburban or rural locations. During the second quarter of 2020, Realtor.com’s quarterly Cross Market Demand Report found that 51 percent of property searches on the site from city residents in the nation’s 100 largest metro areas were for homes in the suburbs of those metro areas, a record high since the website began tracking that data in 2017. In addition, Redfin real estate

The Anderson family recently moved from San Jose to Gig Harbor, Wash., a town about an hour from Seattle. From left: Casey, Adrienne, Scott and Cindy Anderson walk their dogs near their house.

brokerage reported that a record number (27.4 percent) of Redfin.com users were looking to move to a different metro area during the second quarter of 2020.

“Covid-19 has acted as a catalyst for people who were already thinking of moving to the suburbs,” says Jamie Koppersmith, an associate broker with McEneaney Associates in the District. “Some of my clients are thinking that now that they don’t

have to be downtown for work every day, maybe they can get more living space for the same amount of money in the suburbs.”

Multiple factors are driving the interest in moving, including low mortgage rates that increase affordability for buyers; the ability of many people to work remotely; and concern that some city amenities will take years to be widely available again.

The pandemic has also led many people to reevaluate their lifestyle, with some recognizing that they want to live closer to their family. Other city dwellers want to have more living space and expand their access to outdoor space, two features that are harder to come by and more expensive within city limits.

“The past five months or so have been great for Greenwich and other Connecticut towns,” says Yashmin Lloyds, a real estate

agent with Compass in Greenwich, Conn. “A lot of young families who planned to move from Manhattan in five years or so sped up their plans by two or three years because of covid-19. I’m also seeing a lot of buyers from all over the country who have moved to be closer to their aging parents because of the pandemic. Some of them are looking for properties with a private guest space or the ability to build a guesthouse for their parents.”

More than 16,000 New Yorkers switched their mail to suburban Connecticut addresses from March through June, according to U.S. Postal Service data reported by the Hartford Courant newspaper.

“We’ve seen a big volume of buyers since the pandemic started coming from Seattle and from cities in California to more rural areas outside Tacoma,” says Lind-



PHOTOS BY STUART ISETT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

say Weingart, a real estate agent with Redfin in Pierce County, Tacoma and Gig Harbor in Washington state. “People are realizing they can do their jobs remotely indefinitely or only go to an office once a week or so and they want more space for their money.”

Weingart recently worked with a couple who moved from north of Seattle to Gig Harbor on Puget Sound about 45 minutes south of Seattle.

“They sold their house for \$740,000 and bought a house for \$500,000 that is bigger, has more land and is in a sought-after school district,” says Weingart. “A big priority for people who have moved during the pandemic is to get more outdoor space and a bigger house, especially for families.”

Most sellers, especially in the Seattle area, have a lot of equity and can sell easily because there

are still not enough homes available in that market, says Weingart.

“They can use that equity and make a bigger down payment on a less expensive home that has more living space,” says Weingart.

“No one seems too worried about leaving city life behind, because they can get to shops and restaurants within a 10- or 15-minute drive, to Tacoma in 20 minutes and to Seattle in 45 minutes from Gig Harbor.”

Seeking nature and space

Bert Aultman and Sara Towner, a married couple in their 40s, had lived in the Eckington neighborhood in Northeast Washington for 20 years. They say they loved their community and hadn’t envisioned leaving it.

Until recently. “We’re definitely city people,” says Towner. “But Bert has been

TOP: “When my office went 100 percent remote and the kids’ school went virtual, it was an opportunity for us to explore moving,” says Scott Anderson. ABOVE: The family’s new home has a woodland view.

getting emails for years about properties in Annapolis, and a couple of months ago we decided to take a little field trip and look at one.”

Now Aultman and Towner own a single-family home on Lake Hillsmere with a dock and sold their townhouse-style condo in Eckington.

“Covid-19 made us realize that some of the places we love in the city may not come back and that we’re ready to embrace a lifestyle

that’s more about outdoor activity,” says Aultman. “We loved our condo and the neighborhood, but there’s a ton of construction going on around there and we were ready for something different.”

For Ashira Beutler-Greene, 34, and her husband, William Beutler, 41, the pandemic sparked an interest in looking for a place to buy outside a city. The couple, who live in an apartment in the Adams Morgan neighborhood in Northwest Washington, looked for a place to buy in the city and in several other cities for two years and now will move to the Charlottesville area.

“The pandemic made us start to look at options outside of a city and convinced us of the value of having more space and a quieter existence,” says Beutler-Greene. “Our budget of \$500,000 to \$700,000 limited us in the city and it was astounding the types of homes we could consider once we started looking in smaller towns.”

The couple is purchasing a single-family home in Crozet, Va., near Charlottesville with 3,000 square feet, double the size of their city apartment.

“The house has three bedrooms and two bathrooms, but we also have the ability to add more bedrooms and bathrooms inside and to convert two garages into home offices,” says Beutler-Greene. “In D.C. we had looked at places over our budget that were much smaller and needed fixing up. When we started looking in central Virginia, especially outside of suburban areas, we had a choice of places that were architecturally interesting and had some land.”

Beutler-Greene works for a scientific nonprofit organization, currently from a home office. Her husband owns a digital marketing firm and has worked from a home office for more than a decade.

Money matters

Approximately 42 percent of Americans were working from home in June, according to a study by Stanford University’s Institute for Economic Policy Research. Many companies plan to extend the option of working at home indefinitely.

“A lot of companies, especially in the financial sector, don’t plan to reopen their offices for six more months or a year and they won’t require people to come in person every day,” says Lloyds. “That means it’s easier to consider moving farther out because they don’t expect to commute daily.”

Towner, who works for the federal General Services Administration in the District, has been working remotely since the pandemic began and has the flexibility to continue to work from home most of the time in the future.

“We both assume we’ll need to commute into the city sometimes, but I expect to work remotely at least 60 percent of the time,” says Aultman, who works for Procon

Consulting, a construction management firm with an office in Arlington.

For the Andersons, moving from Silicon Valley to a small community 45 miles south of Seattle was a financially easy decision.

“We owned our house in San Jose, which was a 1,500-square-foot house on a small lot, since 2004,” says Scott. “We sold it for \$940,000 and bought a house in Gig Harbor for \$640,000. Our new house is in a nice neighborhood, with 2,800 square feet and it’s on a one-acre lot with a woodland view.”

The Andersons say they are happy to be connected to nature, living in a quieter place and yet within a short drive of Puget Sound and shops and restaurants. Tacoma and Seattle are also easily accessible by car.

“A secondary driver of the move was to have money to pay for college in the future,” says Scott. “It was especially difficult to save money for college as a one-income family in Silicon Valley.”

While some urban homeowners sell high and buy low when they move outside the city, others spend more when they move but get more for the money.

“Our condo in D.C. had about 1,600 square feet on two levels with a small outdoor space and our house in Annapolis has 3,200 square feet with four bedrooms, a yard and a dock,” says Aultman. “We’ll probably eventually get a boat.”

Aultman and Towner sold their District condo for approximately \$740,000 and purchased their new home for \$880,000, but they doubled their living space and now have the waterfront view they crave.

In Greenwich, Conn., Lloyds says buyers from Manhattan are attracted by the idea of getting more square footage and recreational amenities such as a private pool, a gym and sometimes a home theater or tennis court.

“Some people are leaving a rental apartment in Manhattan and buying in the \$2 million to \$3 million range in Greenwich or homes around \$1.2 million or so in some of the lower-cost towns,” says Lloyds. “People who came from a small apartment in New York are relieved to get more space and get away from elevators, especially families.”

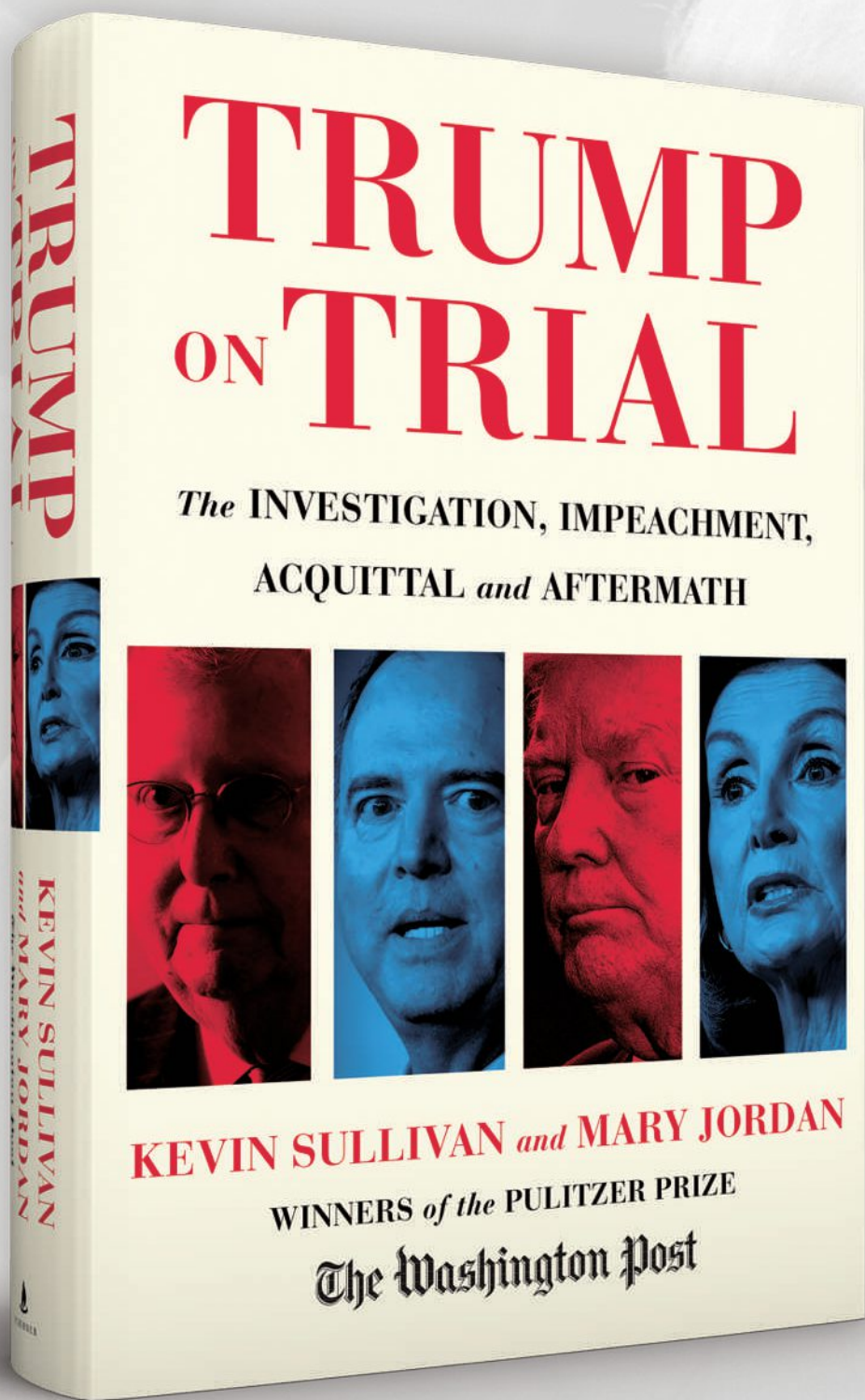
Affluent urban residents with the ability to work from home are positioned to take advantage of the new reality created by the pandemic, but it remains to be seen how many will choose to move.

“I’m not seeing any panic among buyers or sellers in terms of fleeing the city to move to the suburbs,” says Koppersmith.

“It’s not people running for the hills. It’s just a moment for people to look at their options. The pandemic kind of tipped the scales for some people.”

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COMMUNITY SPOTLIGHT:

Kingsmill Realty

Imagine being on vacation every day of the week. That's exactly what you can expect at Kingsmill, just 2.5 hours south of D.C. First and foremost, Kingsmill is a luxury golf resort featuring a deluxe spa, three championship golf courses, marina, unique onsite restaurants and shops, and beautiful views of the James River. But what separates Kingsmill from other top-rated golf resorts are the stunning custom homes currently being offered by Kingsmill Realty.

In this article we will be taking a tour of the two newest additions, The Enclave at Kingsmill and Burwell's Bluff. Both of these neighborhoods are in prime locations inside the master-planned community and provide residents with access to everything Kingsmill has to offer. Fair warning right up front though, these properties are in extremely short supply. Our suggestion is to schedule a tour as soon as possible. Before we visit each of the developments, let's dive a little deeper into what makes the Kingsmill community a great place to live.

Kingsmill Community

It is so rare to find a resort community that truly has everything you need onsite. The host of the LPGA Tour's Pure Silk Championship, Kingsmill Resort is a golf enthusiast's dream with 54 holes of championship golf from course designers Pete Dye, Arnold Palmer, Tom Clark, and Curtis Strange.

Perched alongside the James River, the outdoor fun doesn't stop with golf. This one-of-a-kind resort also features multiple deluxe pools, a full-service marina with beach access on the James River, fishing docks, tennis courts, nature trails, and more.

When guests and residents decide to venture outside the community, the surrounding area has an abundance of entertainment options. Kingsmill is located just minutes from Williamsburg. Take a step back in time and experience the rich history of Colonial Virginia. Shop, dine, and visit one of the many nearby wineries. For the family, Busch Gardens and Water Country USA are just minutes away. If you're commuting to Richmond, Williamsburg, or Newport News, you'll love this location. Kingsmill couldn't be a more perfect place to plant your roots and truly enjoy life.

So, let's take a look at the new homes currently available in this community. Burwell's Bluff and The Enclave at Kingsmill are both being built by the same resident builder and are offered by Kingsmill Realty; both are in demand with new home availability in short supply.



The Enclave at Kingsmill

First on our tour is The Enclave at Kingsmill. This neighborhood is located along the 2nd and 9th holes of the stunning River Course. Kingsmill Realty is currently offering 24 spacious single family attached homes at The Enclave. Once again, keep in mind these units are in very short supply. The builder of these homes actually lives in Kingsmill himself and understands the wants and needs of buyers in this market.

Everything from the large main level owner's suite to the open and airy floor plans has been meticulously thought out with the customer in mind. There are two floor plans to choose from, both featuring convenient main-level owner's suites, high ceilings, five-inch hardwood floors, quartz countertops, custom interior trim, and gourmet chef's kitchens. Because of recent health concerns the builder is now offering an upgraded clean-air package as well. Like we said, they thought of everything.

Burwell's Bluff

Next we're heading over to a gorgeous spot in between the 16th, 17th, and 18th holes of the River Course called Burwell's Bluff. This upscale, single-family detached neighborhood offers two distinct floor plans and amazing views of the James River.

Owners in this section have direct access to the golf courses and —uniquely in Kingsmill— can use their carts to commute to various amenities nearby. Another big selling point of Burwell's Bluff is that it sits right on the James River and provides access to the full-service Kingsmill Marina where owners can dock boats up to 60 feet in length.

These large open-concept homes offer plenty of relaxing and entertaining space with over 3,000 square feet of living space. The homes feature professionally designed interior finish packages. Some highlights include quartz countertops, indoor and outdoor gas fireplaces, vaulted ceilings, and a GE Café appliance package. The dual owner's suites (perfect for hosting!) are also unique on these homes and have several stand-out features. Our favorite is definitely the terrace and porch access. Imagine opening your bedroom door in the morning and letting in the crisp James River breeze as you gaze out across a freshly manicured fairway. Or watch championship golf with a cocktail in hand!

For many, Kingsmill Resort is a favorite vacation destination already. Some of those weekenders will soon be calling this beautiful community home instead and hosting their friends and family in an ideal location convenient to locations across the East Coast. If you're hoping to be one of the lucky ones to leave the real world behind and step into this luxury resort dreamland full-time, keep in mind there is limited availability. Once they're gone, they're gone. We hope after reading this you're encouraged to at least take a tour of these two amazing projects.

Call **877-729-3084** now to schedule your tour, play a complimentary round of golf, and spend the night at this world-class resort — discover if the Kingsmill lifestyle is the lifestyle for you!

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2.81%

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A house provides protection - from the cold, the wind, the rain, the heat. A home is a place or a feeling of belonging. Now more than ever, we have all come to appreciate how important it is to feel "at home" within our home, to have the space we need to work, play, teach, cook, and relax. It's where we spend most of our time, so why not make the most of our home?!



FAMILY

Family is at the heart of every home, and every home is the central hub of a family. It is where we come together to share meals, share stories, share our lives. It is the nourishing template against which we experience the ups and downs of life together. Having a home enables a family a safe place to thrive and flourish, to celebrate, and to connect.



MEMORIES

Home is where memories are created, shared and remembered. When we think of the word home, we think of the home in which we were raised. The home where we moved during childhood. The home where we raised our children. Birthdays. Holidays. Weddings. Our home is central to all of these memories.



FUTURE

Our home is where we share our dreams, where we reflect on the past and look to the future. It is where life is schooled into discipline and strength, where character is molded. It is within the safety and comfort of "home" that we allow ourselves to dream of the future.

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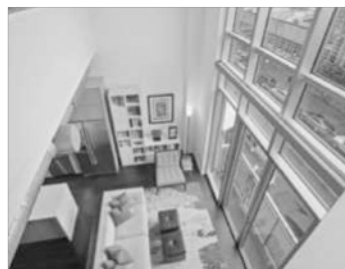
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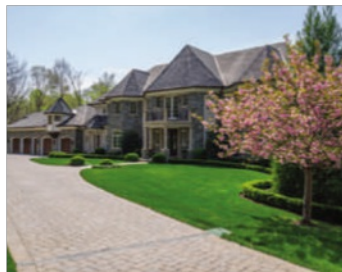
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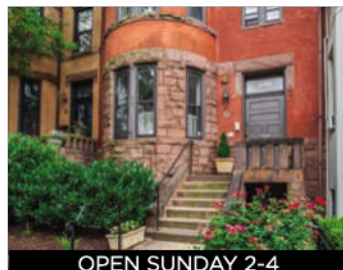
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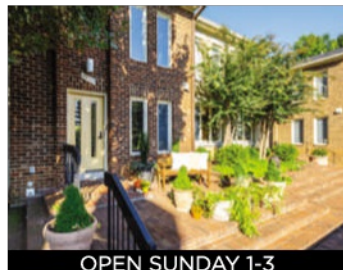
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